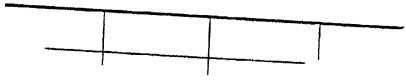
266 R14c 54-63391

266 R14c 54-63391
Rahill Gift.
Catholic Indian Missions and
Grant's peace policy 1870-1884.



Keep Your Card in This Pocket

Books will be issued only on presentation of proper library cards.

Unless labeled otherwise, books may be retained for two weeks. Borrowers finding books marked, defaced or mutilated are expected to report same at library desk; otherwise the last borrower will be held responsible for all imperfections discovered.

The card holder is responsible for all books drawn on this card.

Penalty for over-due books 2c a day plus cost of notices.

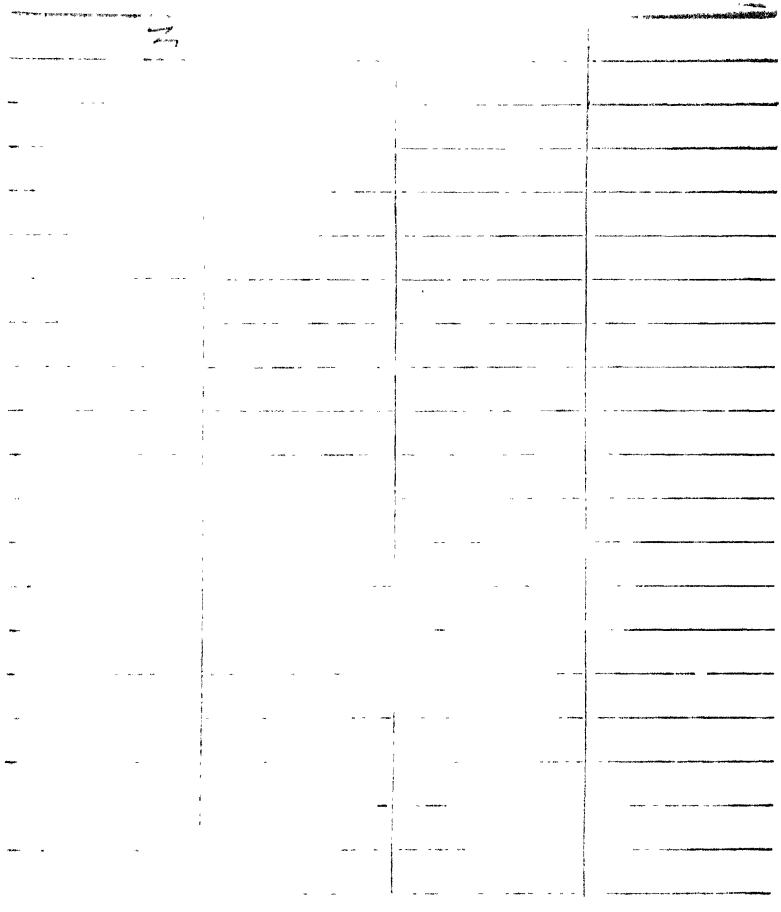
Lost cards and change of residence must be reported promptly.

THE SCHOOL DISTRICT OF KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

TENSION ENVELOPE CORP.

KANSAS CITY, MO. PUBLIC LIBRARY
0 0001 0301826 3



THE CATHOLIC INDIAN MISSIONS AND GRANT'S PEACE POLICY 1870 — 1884

The Catholic Indian Missions and Grant's Peace Policy 1870-1884

by

PETER J. RAHILL

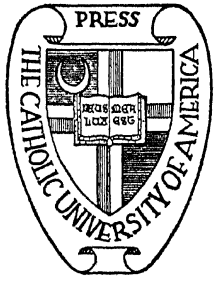
St. Louis University

FOREWORD

by

THE MOST REVEREND EDWIN V. O'HARA

Bishop of Kansas City



THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA PRESS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

1953

Nihil obstat:

JOHN TRACY ELLIS
Censor Deputatus

Imprimatur:

✠ JOSEPH E. RITTER
Archbishop of St. Louis

MAY 12, 1952

COPYRIGHT 1953 BY
THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA PRESS, INC.

PRINTED BY
SCHUSTER PRINTING SERVICE
DUBUQUE, IOWA

Dedicated to
the Memory of My Father,
Out of Love of My Mother,
and in Sincere Gratitude to
The Most Reverend Joseph E. Ritter
Archbishop of St. Louis

PREFACE

The interest of the Catholic Church in the conversion of the American Indian may be said to have followed directly from the commission of Jesus Christ to His Apostles: "Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations" (Matt., 28:19). From the discovery of the islands, and then the continent of the West, that divine command was made specific for the red race by explicit direction of popes and bishops. While a veritable legion of Catholics of both sexes sought out the aborigines to instruct and civilize them, Catholic Indian missionaries in North America have come to be associated with the fame of a few. Isaac Jogues on the North, Pierre-Jean DeSmet in the Northwest, and Junípero Serra on the Pacific Coast have stood for all the devoted souls who were dismayed neither by the threat of a martyr's death nor the tedium and hardships of lonely toil.

Despite a lack of both numbers and material resources, from the beginning of the American Republic the Catholics worked harmoniously with the federal government to give all the benefits of Christianity to the red men. The Church, then making the largest religious effort for the Indian, found both opportunity and attendant complications in the invitation of President Grant to participate in his Peace Policy. But the Catholic response to that offer of December 5, 1870, by the chief executive of the United States did not generate another individual figure who overshadowed all others. In this instance it was rather through an agency of the Church that the activities of all Indian missionaries were co-ordinated with the program of the government. The present study is, then, the account of the organization and the work under the Peace Policy of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions.

The Catholic bureau was highly important in the administration and interpretation of the Peace Policy, and this official

agency of the Church continues today in much the same form as it developed during the years from 1870 to 1884. But strange to say, the story of that period has never been related. Both general and church histories have mentioned the vital part of Catholics in the Peace Policy, but few particulars have been added because of the lack of a specific treatment. This study represents an attempt to remedy that defect. Once again in these operations—for a new race in the New World—apostles sought to carry out the command of our Lord: "Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations."

Though concerned primarily with a section of the story of the Catholic Church, this account must necessarily touch upon the history of the United States in which it took place. Because the Catholic bureau was a direct consequence of Grant's announcement of his Peace Policy, the actions and attitudes of government officials were woven into the cloth of the story. Moreover, the federal program was important in the American relations of Church and State, for it marked the active entry of a national administration into a field previously filled by the religious teacher alone. The history of these years discloses that even under adverse circumstances the Catholic Church successfully carried on her missionary work in co-operation with the federal program.

Only insofar as the labors of Catholic missionaries of the period serve to illustrate the operations of the Catholic Indian bureau has that story of work in the field been given in the present study. Several good treatments have already been published of the Peace Policy and its general effects. Hence, discussion of the government's plan and its operation has been restricted to those incidents which had a direct bearing upon Catholic participation in it. The Indian missions of the various Protestant denominations are not included in the scope of this work. Mention has been made of them solely with the intent of explaining the entire problem which confronted the Catholics under the Peace Policy.

The direct beneficiaries of the Catholic bureau in Washington were the Indian missions in widely scattered sections of the United States. Since it was not possible to relate the activities of all, or even most of them, the labors for and among the Sioux in Dakota Territory have been offered as an illustration. The large number of Indians then in that part of the country, as well as the diversity and complexity of the problems encountered, prompted the selection of these operations as an exemplification of the interdependence between Catholic missionaries and the Washington office.

Then, as now, the training of youth was essential, especially for guiding the nomads of the prairies into the paths of civilization. The great benefit of the Peace Policy was the support of the religious schools by the federal government. The zenith of that instruction of the Indian children was not reached until more than a decade after the close of this story. But even in the period to which this account is restricted the approval of government supervisors was well nigh universal for the schools then being conducted by Catholic priests, sisters, and brothers. This acclaim was not simply from those above and outside of the actual instruction. The recipients themselves, the Indians, sought and enthusiastically received the teaching by the "black gowns" and their devoted auxiliaries.

To the Most Reverend Joseph E. Ritter, Archbishop of St. Louis, the writer is supremely grateful for the opportunity so graciously bestowed of knowing and telling the story of this section of Catholic mission work. Because of the absence of previous treatment, the tale was based principally upon unpublished correspondence and records. First among these were the files of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, and to the present director of that organization, the Reverend John B. Tennelly, S.S., the writer is thankful for the facilities he made available. Others to whom sincere appreciation is offered must include the Right Reverend John J. Duggan, Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, the Very Reverend Daniel E. Sheehan and the Reverend Edward P. McCaslin, Chancellor

and Vice-Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Omaha, the Right Reverend John M. A. Fearns, Rector of St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, the Reverend Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., archivist of the University of Notre Dame, the Reverend James P. Galvin, of the Archdiocese of Indianapolis, the Reverend Emery J. Blanchard, of the Archdiocese of Seattle, and the Very Reverend Daniel H. Conway, S.J., Provincial of the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus, as well as to their courteous assistants. Relatives of the late General Charles Ewing were helpful in making private papers readily available, and among all of these Mr. John K. M. Ewing, Miss Eleanor Ewing, and Miss Eleanor Sherman Fitch deserve special thanks.

To the Most Reverend Edwin V. O'Hara, Bishop of Kansas City, the writer is grateful for the introduction. The foreword has special pertinence from Bishop O'Hara's familiarity with the American Northwest through both experience and authorship. Among the number who kindly sent material for this study were Sister Marian Josephine Thomas, S.H.N., Sister Margaret Jean Kelly, S.H.N., Sister Consuela Maria Ford, S.H.N., and the Reverends Albert Kleber, O.S.B., and Albert S. Foley, S.J. Two men who have died since this work was undertaken, John P. O'Hara and Frederick P. Kenkel, were generous with their assistance. At the National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs, the officials were both competent and cordial, which was likewise true at the Library of Congress. The attendants at the Mullen Library of the Catholic University of America performed a multitude of services with the utmost willingness.

In its original form the present work appeared as a doctoral dissertation. For the selection of the subject and the wise direction throughout its development there could have been no substitute for the Reverend John Tracy Ellis, professor of American church history in the Catholic University of America. The writer is also grateful to John T. Farrell, professor of American history, and the Reverend Henry J. Browne, archivist of the same University, for their careful reading and judicious

criticism of the manuscript. To all of these, and to the host of others who have contributed to the completion of this work the writer gives his heartfelt thanks.

PETER J. RAHILL

Feast of All Saints
November 1, 1952

FOREWORD

This volume by Father Rahill centers in a carefully documented account of the establishment and work of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions during the heart-breaking years when President Grant's so-called Indian "Peace Policy" was in effect. A dismal chapter of American history in the nineteenth century has been unfolded in which military force and political corruption took precedence over the claims of justice and the welfare of the Indians.

The attempt of Archbishop Blanchet of Oregon, with the aid of General Charles Ewing and Father Brouillet to reverse this trend, constitutes the story of the establishment of the Catholic Indian Bureau. We are indebted to Father Rahill for an adequate account of the later labors of Father Brouillet who as an Indian missionary in Oregon thirty years earlier had made an important contribution to Indian history in his *Protestatism in Oregon; Account of the Murder of Dr. Whitman.*

The painful story of sectarian opposition to the labors of Ewing and Brouillet was to be expected, but the apostles of Indian rights might have hoped to be spared embittered calumny at the hands of the Catholic editor of an influential newspaper. The record of the penury of financial resources for the new bureau and of the indifference of important personages to whom "the problem seemed very far removed" is the burden of many pages.

The success of the bureau in establishing a large number of efficient boarding schools which are still serving the Indian missions was extraordinary in view of the nomadic habits of the Indians. The self-sacrifice on the part of the missionaries and the various sisterhoods is an epic of heroism in American Catholic annals.

Baraga, Blanchet, DeSmet, Marty, Brouillet, Malo and a score of others become alive again in these pages. Two remarkable names, those of General Charles Ewing and of his sister, Ellen Ewing (Mrs. W. T. Sherman, wife of the general) add luster to the record of American lay apostles.

It should be added that the Bureau of Catholic Indians is not of historical interest alone. Even today that agency of the Church is justifying the hopes and the efforts of its founders of more than three-quarters of a century ago.

✠ Edwin V. O'Hara
Bishop of Kansas City

Kansas City, Missouri
December 8, 1952

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE vii

FOREWORD xiii

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES xix

CHAPTER

I. A Tradition of Protection and Care 3

II. Groping Toward Unified Action 29

III. An Official Organization Achieved 76

IV. Financing the Bureau 119

V. Attacks from Within 169

VI. Operations Among the Sioux of Dakota 221

VII. A Victory for Religious Liberty 273

EPILOGUE 332

THE SOURCES 345

BIBLIOGRAPHY 349

INDEX 361

MEANING OF INITIALS APPEARING IN TEXT 363

ILLUSTRATIONS

Page

Indian Missions in Michigan 18

Archbishop James Roosevelt Bayley 70

Operations among northwestern Indians to 1873 110

Annals of the Catholic Indian Missions 163

Annalen der Katholischen Indianer-Missionen 164

"Order No. 11" 203

General Charles Ewing 259

Operations among western Indians to 1879 292-293

Father Jean-Baptiste Abraham Brouillet.....335

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES

AAB	Archives Archdiocese of Baltimore
AAI	Archives Archdiocese of Indianapolis
AANY	Archives Archdiocese of New York
AAO	Archives Archdiocese of Omaha
AAP	Archives Archdiocese of Portland, Oregon
AAS	Archives Archdiocese of Seattle
ADP	Archives Diocese of Portland, Maine
ABCIM	Archives Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions
AMP	Archives Missouri Province, Society of Jesus, St. Louis
ASVA	Archives St. Vincent Archabbey, Latrobe, Pennsylvania
AUND	Archives University of Notre Dame
EC	Ewing Collection, in the possession of John K. M. and Eleanor Ewing, son and daughter of General Charles Ewing, Silver Spring, Maryland
Guilday Collection	Guilday Collection, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, The Catholic University of America
LC	Library of Congress, Division of Manuscripts Ewing Papers Grant Papers Schurz Papers Sherman Papers

RBIA	National Archives, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs*
RBIC	National Archives, Records of the Board of Indian Commissioners*
RSI, ID	National Archives, Records of the Secretary of the Interior, Indian Division*

*In the designation of these three collections, L.R. is used for Letters Received; L.S. for Letters Sent.

B.I.C.	*Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners* (followed by proper year)
C.I.A.	*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (followed by proper year)
R.S.I.	*Annual Report, Secretary of the Interior* (followed by proper year)
Freeman's Journal	New York *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register*

THE CATHOLIC INDIAN MISSIONS AND GRANT'S PEACE POLICY 1870—1884

CHAPTER I

A TRADITION OF PROTECTION AND CARE

In the words of a seventeenth-century Spanish jurist, "the Indies were conceded to the kings of Castile principally in order to favor and convert the Indians."[1] That there were notable lapses from this ideal may be readily granted, as in any age self-examination reveals the gap between attainment and aspirations. Nevertheless, the goal of giving a knowledge of Christianity to the natives of the New World was persistently held forth to the Spanish. Nearly a century after the first voyage of Columbus a six volume work for the direction of missionaries was published by Joseph Acosta. He gave practical advice in urging, for example, that they promptly learn the tribal languages and dialects. And for effective and lasting teaching the missionary needed the personal attributes of "probity, piety, purity, charitableness, and kindness." Successive editions and translations attest not only the worth of Acosta's treatment but the wide European interest in the conversion of the American Indians.[2]

But even before the publication of this work, Catholic missionaries from Spain had been preaching the gospel within the present boundaries of the United States. Religious societies which are well known in the United States today were leaders in the apostolic effort of the early sixteenth century. For example, Dominicans accompanied Ayllón to the Carolina coast in 1526; Franciscans were with Narvàez in 1528;[3] and Jesuits,

---

[1] Antonio de Leon Pinelo, *Tratado de Confirmaciones Reales* (Buenos Aires [Madrid, 1630], 1922), p. 241, quoted by Lewis Hanke, "Pope Paul III and the American Indians," *Harvard Theological Review,* XXX (April, 1937), 66.

[2] Joseph Schmidlin, *Catholic Mission Theory,* translated by Matthias Braun, S.V.D. (Techny, Illinois, 1931), pp. 12-13. Acosta's work was entitled *De procuranda Indorum salute libri sex* (Salamanca, 1588; Cologne, 1596, 1606; French translation, 1670).

[3] James A. Robertson, "Notes on Early Church Government in Spanish Florida," *Catholic Historical Review,* XVII (July, 1931), 156.

who had helped Menéndez de Avilés make the first permanent settlement in the later United States at St. Augustine in 1565, visited Indians as far north as present-day Georgia and Virginia. The missions in Florida reached their peak of success around 1634, when the Franciscans had forty-four separate stations, in which approximately 30,000 converted Indians were attended. The spiritual sons of St. Francis had replaced the Jesuits in Florida in 1573 when the latter were transferred to Mexico. Yet the harvest of souls by the missionaries was not reaped without a heavy toll being exacted. Five Franciscans died in Florida in as many years, and before that, in 1549, the blow of a tomahawk made the Dominican, Luis Cancer, the proto-martyr of Florida.[4] Seven years previously, and sixty-five years prior to the settlement of Jamestown, Friar Juan de Padilla, who had gone on foot with Coronado to the Quivira country in the present State of Kansas, was killed by Indians hostile to those he had converted.[5]

Before turning to the Church's labor under other flags in the behalf of the Indians, it should be noted that the judgment of one authority has been that Spain's program "was the most successful of the colonial period."[6] On the other hand Shea, the eminent Catholic historian of the last century, believed that the superlative labors of the Spanish Indian missionaries were dissipated by having embraced a multitude of separate projects over too widely-extended a territory.[7] The apparent contradiction is solved by remembering that the former wrote of actual conditions, while the latter was longing for an unrealized perfection. Because the Southwest and California were not in the

---

4 Michael J. Curley, C.Ss.R., *Church and State in the Spanish Floridas, 1783-1882* (Washington, 1940), pp. 7-8.

5 Anon., "Father Padilla Memorial," *Columbia,* XXX (December, 1950), 20. October 15, 1950, at a point west of Lyons, Kansas, a memorial to Padilla, donated by the Knights of Columbus in Kansas, was blessed by the Most Reverend Mark K. Carroll, Bishop of Wichita.

6 Evelyn C. Adams, *American Indian Education* (New York, 1946), p. 106.

7 John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States, 1529-1854* (New York, 1855), p. 123.

original thirteen colonies the labors of the padres in that section will be left for a more detailed telling.

Leaving the Spanish, it was probably true that international power and prestige, as well as individual profit and adventure, inspired the foundation of New France. Nevertheless, intertwined and often paramount among these motives was the conversion of the natives to Catholicity. Jacques Cartier stressed that responsibility in his memorial to Francis I, and Henry IV included it in his provisions for the settlement of Acadia.[8] In their Indian relations the French were favored by the harmonization of fur trading with the mode of living of the natives. Again, national interests were aided by the incomparable ability of the French missionaries to make friends of the Indians.

Father Isaac Jogues may, perhaps, exemplify the work of all the Recollect, Capuchin, and Jesuit missionaries in seventeenth-century New France. Jogues' petition to be a foreign missionary was granted shortly after his ordination as a Jesuit priest in 1636. In New France he was soon known for his zeal and energy. With Father Charles Raymbault, S.J., Jogues had preached the gospel to the Chippewas a thousand miles in the interior in the year 1641, "five years," as George Bancroft wrote, "before the New England [John] Eliot had addressed the Indians that dwelt within six miles from Boston harbor."[9] Though most of his labors were in what is now Canada, Jogues had traversed New York from north to south a generation before the name of the future state had been coined.

During twelve months of captivity among the Iroquois the physical and moral stamina of Jogues was tested daily by indescribable tortures. With the help of the Dutch of New Amsterdam he succeeded in returning to France, but he was incapacitated for celebrating Mass because of the loss of fingers which the savages had torn from his hands. In granting per-

---

[8] Sister Mary Celeste Leger, *The Catholic Indian Missions in Maine, 1611-1820* (Washington, 1929), p. 17.

[9] *History of the United States* (Boston, 1879), II, 308.

mission for the exercise of his priestly office despite this handicap, Pope Urban VIII exclaimed: "It is not fitting that a martyr for Christ should not drink the Blood of Christ." From France Jogues returned at once to the missions and there suffered martyrdom from the Iroquois at Ossernenon, near Auriesville, in the present Montgomery County, New York.[10]

To another Jesuit, Father Gabriel Druillettes, the Indians of northern Maine were far more tractable. So completely did they embrace his teaching that, as Parkman declared, their prayers were "for forgiveness and the conversion of their enemies, the Iroquois," which led the historian to comment, "This is the most remarkable record of success in the whole body of the *Jesuit Relations.*"[11]

The Jesuits also were highly useful to the Governor General of New France in making treaties both with the Indians and the English colonies. This fact was exemplified in Druillettes, for as Jogues had given his life for the red men, so Druillettes tried to help the Abenakis of Maine by diplomacy. Acting as their ambassador and that of the Quebec government, he sought the co-operation of the English settlements against the Iroquois confederacy. The Mohawks' virtual destruction of the Hurons in 1648-1649 had rendered the former tribe the terror of the whole country. For the priest to enter Massachusetts was contrary to a law passed three years before, which provided for immediate expulsion of any Jesuit entering the colony, and his death by hanging should he dare to return. Nevertheless, from Augusta south to Boston Druillettes received a warm welcome from such militant Protestants as John Winslow, Governor Thomas Dudley, John Eliot, and John Endicott. At Plymouth "Governor [William] Bradford invited

---

10 F. W. Grey, "The Jesuits and New France in the Seventeenth Century," *American Catholic Quarterly Review,* XXI (July, 1896), 746. Cf., Francis X. Talbot, S.J., *Saint Among Savages; the Life of Isaac Jogues* (New York, 1935).

11 Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century* (Boston, 1894), II, 319. Of Catholicity he added (p. 320): "however Protestants may carp at it, it was the only form of Christianity likely to take root in their crude and barbarous nature."

him to dine, and, as it was Friday, considerately gave him a dinner of fish."[12] Although the clerical ambassador again was well received when he returned in 1651, the alliance failed to materialize.

As with the Spanish, the success of the French missionaries to the Indians affected only the perimeters of the present United States. Arnold J. Toynbee has traced the general policy of extermination of the Indians by the English colonists to the habit of mind acquired when the Saxons preyed on the outposts of the Roman Empire and revived in the harsh treatment of the conquered inhabitants of Ireland.[13] However, though it is outside the province of this work, mention should be made that by 1636 the New England Congregationalists had commenced missionary efforts among the Indians, with Roger Williams in the vanguard. George Fox, the Quaker, preached to the Indians when he was in America (1671-1672), and later from England he repeatedly encouraged the Friends to do likewise.[14] In the colony of Pennsylvania William Penn's fair treatment of the red men is a bright chapter in American history. Maryland, the one English colony founded by Catholics, had settlement and the conversion of the Indians going on simultaneously. The consent of the Piscataways was obtained by Governor Leonard Calvert and the Jesuit missionary John Altham before a landing was made at St. Mary's in March, 1634. Through the efforts of another priest among the Maryland colonists, Andrew White, S.J., almost all of the Piscataways and the Patuxents were converted. Unfortunately for the permanence of this successful labor, continued attacks by the Susquehannas brought about the disappearance or migration of the Maryland Indians by the year 1700.[15]

---

12 *Ibid.*, II, 321-330. Leger, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43, gave "a list of all the documents now available which throw light on the mission of Druillettes to New England." Parkman used a variant spelling, Druilletes.

13 *A Study of History* (London, 1934), I, 465-467.

14 Rayner W. Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians, 1655-1917* (Philadelphia, 1917), pp. 11-59, *passim.*

15 Thomas Hughes, S. J., *History of the Society of Jesus in North America* (Cleveland, 1907), *Text,* I, 322-340, 547-555; ibid. (Cleveland. 1908), *Documents,* I, 103-104 (No. 8, A, Andrew White's *Relatio Itineris in Marilandiam*).

In a broad summarization of the colonial period, it may be said that the Indian was a ward to the Spanish, a partner-ally to the French, and an enemy alien to the English. What change did the independence and unification of the colonies bring? As early as July 12, 1775, the Continental Congress created a Bureau of Indian Affairs, with northern, middle, and southern departments. While neutralization of the red men during the revolution was the ideal, force was resorted to when it best served the infant government. For example, Iroquois power was destroyed for all time by John Sullivan's expedition up the Susquehanna River in 1779. Of those who remained the Senecas received a grant of land from the Pennsylvania assembly, and the education of their children was promised to their chief, Cornplanter, in 1792 by President Washington.[16] Nine years before Washington had declared that Indian territory was to be regarded as conquered provinces, and this idea was incorporated in instructions given to commissioners who negotiated with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix in 1784. This treaty provided that the United States received the Indians "into their protection." That clause has been regarded as the foundation of the concept of the Indian being a ward of the federal government.[17]

While the founding fathers discussed the Indian question very little, the Constitutional Convention did confer on Congress power "to regulate Commerce . . . with the Indian Tribes."[18] Within a five-week period the first Congress enacted four statutes concerning the red men, including the assignment of Indian affairs to the Department of War. Exactly a month before the institution of this department its *de facto* secretary, General Henry Knox, wrote to Washington that many thought civilization of the Indians to be impracticable.[19] The immediate reaction of the first President is not known,

[16] Felix S. Cohen, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* (Washington, 1942), pp. 238-239.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[18] *The Constitution of the United States,* Article I, Section 8.

[19] July 7, 1789, *American State Papers, Indian Affairs* (Washington, 1832), I, 53 (hereafter cited as *A.S.P., I.A.*).

but six years later he emphasized that in relations between white and red men the scales of justice must be balanced evenly. Washington added that civilizing the Indian would "reflect undecaying luster on our national character and administer the most grateful consolations that virtuous minds can know."[20] While General Knox had expressed pessimism about achieving this goal, he nevertheless recommended that missionaries should be appointed to reside with the Indians. His suggestion was not adopted literally, but the first Congress did provide for agents to live among the red men in order to promote their welfare.[21] Fathers Jean Rivet and Pierre Janin were so commissioned by the government to go among the tribes of the Wabash and Illinois Countries, each to receive a salary of $200.00 annually from federal funds."[22]

In reply to the proposal of John Carroll, first Catholic bishop in the United States, that the Indians be instructed in the principles and duties of Christianity, President Washington explained that the hostilities then existing prevented any such action with the western Indians. For those in the northeastern part of the United States the President suggested that the matter be taken up with the State of Massachusetts, of which commonwealth they were inhabitants.[23] From the government's agent in what is now Maine, Bishop Carroll had heard the previous year (1791), one John Allan having written to the Bishop of Baltimore to request a priest be sent to attend the Catholic Indians there. Not a Catholic himself, Allan praised the strict

---

20 Seventh annual address to Congress, December 8, 1795, James Daniel Richardson, editor, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (New York, 1897), I, 177.

21 *A.S.P., I.A.*, I, 54; 1 *United States Statutes at Large*, I, 331 (hereafter cited as *Stat. L.*).

22 Thomas Timothy McAvoy, *The Catholic Church in Indiana, 1789-1834* (New York, 1940), pp. 77-78. Of the salary to Father Rivet a contemporary missionary, Father Charles Nerinckx, commented: "I would rather refuse the offer, because I have not the least doubt that the allowance is hurtful to freedom of religion, as too plainly appears from the papers left in the house of the deceased priest." Schmidlin, *Catholic Mission History*, translated by Matthias Braun, S.V.D. (Techny, Illinois, 1933), p. 688.

23 Jared Sparks, editor, *The Writings of George Washington* (Boston, 1836), X, 228-229.

adherence of his charges to what was termed "The Roman Catholic profession." In addition, he ascribed their knowledge and devotion to the zeal of the French missionaries who had formerly labored among them.

Already beleaguered by pleas from all sections of his nation-wide diocese for clergy he did not have, Carroll wrote to the Maine Indians on September 6, 1791, promising a priest as soon as available. Several more letters were exchanged between Carroll and Allan before the excesses of the French Revolution brought the Sulpician, Father François Ciquard, to the United States. Thereupon, in a letter exuberant with gladness the bishop wrote to his "children in Jesus Christ" that the priest they desired was on his way to them.[24] For four years Ciquard fulfilled his difficult assignment. He then transferred to the Diocese of Quebec, and Father John Cheverus, another French refugee, took charge of these Indians. In 1798 the General Court of Massachusetts assumed a share of the expense by allotting a yearly salary of $200.00 for this ministry.

Elsewhere the spirit of co-operation and support of Indian missionaries was reflected in the record. William Henry Harrison, later the hero of the battle of Tippecanoe, negotiated a treaty with the Kaskaskias in 1803, which stipulated:

> Whereas, the greater part of said tribe have been baptized and received into the Catholic Church to which they are much attached, the United States will give annually for seven years one hundred dollars toward the support of a priest of that religion.

The agreement provided that in addition to the duties of his office, the priest was also to instruct the children in literature.[25] Education of the Indians by the missionaries in this manner re-

---

24 AAB, 1-A-2, Indians to Carroll, Bay of Passamaquaddy, May 17, 1791; 1-A-3, Allan to Carroll, n.p., May 21, 1791; 1-A-3½, Allan to Carroll, n.p., June 17, 1792; 1-A-3½, Carroll to Indians, Baltimore, n.d., 1792; 1-A-4, Allan to Carroll, Passamaquaddy, July 28, 1792. Cf., Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll* (New York, 1922), II, 604-614. For the meaning of AAB and other symbols, cf. "Abbreviations used in Footnotes."

25 Charles J. Kappler, editor, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties,* (Washington, 1904), II, 67-68.

ceived congressional endorsement both in theory and practice during the first administration of James Monroe. A report of the House Committee on Indian Affairs in 1818 designated education as the best method of civilizing the red men. A permanent annual appropriation of $10,000 was made for their industrial and scholastic training in 1819, and in the following year treaty annuities were assigned to the same purpose. In the absence of federal machinery to implement the program missionary organizations were entrusted with the task. By 1842 $214,500 of federal funds had been expended for the work, with church societies supplying an additional $180,000 to expand the teaching facilities.[26]

What of the Indians themselves? were they hostile, passive, or eager for the word of God? A petition to Congress in 1823 by the Ottawas around Lake Michigan demonstrated the anxiety for missionaries by these tribesmen. As early as the seventeenth century they had known Jacques Marquette, S.J., the co-explorer of the Mississippi, but in the succeeding years spiritual attention was limited by the fewness of the clergy. When another French priest, this one a refugee from the revolution in his native land, stayed with the Ottawas in 1799, he was saddened by their plight. This Father Gabriel Richard, S.S., told Bishop Carroll that "English rum has destroyed more Indians than ever did the Spanish sword."[27]

Notwithstanding the degradation into which liquor had plunged them, Richard believed these Ottawas would one day want Christianity. He lived to see that conviction fully realized. The visits of the priest so impressed the Indians that on August 12, 1823, Blackbird and nearly a score of lesser Otta-

---

26 *A.S.P., I.A.*, II, 151; *Stat. L.*, III, 516. The permanent annual appropriation was repealed February 14, 1873; *Stat. L.*, XVII, 461.

27 P. Chrysostomus Verwyst, O.F.M., *Life and Labors of Rt. Rev. Frederic Baraga* (Milwaukee, 1900), p. 53. Richard was born at Saintes, France, on October 15, 1767, and died while attending the victims of a cholera epidemic in Detroit on September 13, 1832. For an excellent account of the missionary labors of this gifted priest, cf., George Paré, *The Catholic Church in Detroit, 1701-1888* (Detroit, 1951), pp. 267-385; for his efforts in behalf of the Indians, *ibid.*, pp. 592-596.

wa chiefs appealed to Congress for Catholic missionaries.[28] No immediate action was taken on this petition. However, while Father Francis Vincent Badin was caring for these red men as an itinerant missionary, in Washington Richard learned from the Secretary of War of the requirements for an allotment from the appropriation for education.[29] How well the early priests labored for their charges was given an oblique compliment in a comment about immigrants to Michigan in the 1830's. Therein it was said:

> Each group put up its own place of worship—except the Catholics, who had found theirs waiting for them. These had been built by the missions; the Jesuits and Recollects had a church for every fur-trading post, however remote.[30]

The name of Gabriel Richard likewise figures in another instance of the friendly co-operation of the government with the Catholic missionaries to the Indians. While the delegate in Congress from Michigan Territory he was the instigator of federal aid to Indian missions around Lake Michigan. At the request of John C. Calhoun, who as Secretary of War was in charge of Indian affairs, the priest sent information about this so-called "Civilization Fund" to the Bishop of Cincinnati, Edward D. Fenwick, O.P. Bishop Louis William Du Bourg of Louisiana also became aware of the offer of federal aid for work among the Indians.[31]

Du Bourg went to Washington late in 1822, one of the reasons for his journey having been to arrange for the establishment of Catholic missions among the Indians along the Mis-

---

[28] RBIA, Records of the Secretary of War for Indian Affairs, Blackbird *et al.* to the President, n.p., [August 12, 1823].

[29] Anon., "Religion in Western States, 1824," *American Catholic Historical Researches,* X (October, 1893), 154-156, printed Richard's report to the Bishop of Cincinnati on the Indian policy of the government.

[30] Marguerite Merington, editor, *The Custer Story* (New York, 1950), p. 18.

[31] Du Bourg to Father P[hilip] Borgna, C.M., Washington, D. C., February 27, 1823. The original is in the Archives of the Congregation of the Propaganda, Rome; it was edited by John Rothensteiner, "Early Missionary Efforts among the Indians in Diocese of St. Louis," *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review,* II (April-July, 1920), 68-69.

souri River. Calhoun was sympathetic to his plan, and a yearly subsidy of $800 was granted for its fulfillment. On the same trip the bishop was delighted in having the Maryland Jesuits accept his invitation to undertake the evangelization of the Missouri tribesmen. Du Bourg wrote that in Washington "a hint was given me that the Government would be pleased to see the Fathers of the Society of Jesus take up these missions." He happily recalled that eight years previously in Rome Pope Pius VII had made the same recommendation to him.[32]

Having agreed with Du Bourg to the change, in 1823 the Jesuits transferred their novitiate to Florissant, Missouri. Among those who made the journey westward from Maryland was a young Belgian novice destined to become famous as an Indian missionary, Pierre-Jean DeSmet. With the aid of the government allowance Father Charles Van Quickenborne, S. J., the superior, supervised the establishment of a boarding school for Indian lads at Florissant. Also in 1824 at nearby St. Ferdinand, Missouri, the Religious of the Sacred Heart opened a school for girls. The most renowned of these sisters was Mother Philippine Duchesne. In 1841, when she was seventy-two years of age and in poor health, Mother Duchesne persisted in setting out for the Potawatomi mission at Sugar Creek, Kansas, where she won from the Indians themselves the title of "the woman who prays always."[33]

The progress which the Church had been making in her care of the Indians was complicated by developments in federal policy during the presidency of Jackson. To replace the abolished office of Superintendent of Indian Trade, Secretary Calhoun

---

[32] Du Bourg to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, Baltimore, March 29, 1823. The original is in the Archives of the Congregation of the Propaganda, Rome; it was edited in the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, III (January-April, 1921), 130-132. For Calhoun's benevolent Indian policy, cf. Charles M. Wiltse, *John C. Calhoun, Nationalist, 1782-1828* (New York, 1944), pp. 186, 226, 296-297.

[33] Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York, 1938), II, 207. Cf. *ibid.*, I, 28-91, for a detailed discussion of the transfer of the Jesuits from Maryland to Missouri. Frederick Webb Hodge, editor, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Washington, 1907) is followed for the spelling of all Indian names.

in 1824 set up the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and Elbert Herring was named the first Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1832. An act passed by Congress two years later has since been regarded as the organic law of the Indian Office. In 1849 the Indian Bureau, which had long been staffed by civilians, was officially transferred from the War Department to the newly established Department of the Interior.[34]

But it was not in the language of legal forms that the radical alteration in Indian relations occurred. As long as the tribesmen represented the balance of power between the contending forces of Spain, France, and England, they were treated as sovereign nations. The cession to the United States of Florida in 1819 by Spain removed the last shadow of possible foreign alliance with the Indians. With relief had from this foreign pressure, force was to supplant treaty stipulations for imposing the will of the dominant race. More truly than the controversy over slavery an "irresistible conflict" was in the making because of the constant intrusion of white settlers into land reserved for the red men. Under James Monroe and John Quincy Adams voluntary and gradual emigration by the Indian was the national policy, but Andrew Jackson's impetuosity brooked no delays. The President attacked this problem with the same dispatch he had employed in quelling the Seminole disturbances on the southeastern frontier of the United States in 1818. In compliance with his demand, Jackson's first Congress in 1830 provided for removal of the original inhabitants of eastern states to the West. Ironically it was stated once again that these Indians would be vested with a perpetual title to the lands so exchanged.[35]

Striving to halt this forced transfer, in the courts of the white man the civilized Cherokee Nation won a signal legal victory against the State of Georgia. Chief Justice John Marshall used the very terminology of the congressional legislation

[34] Cohen, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11. Section 9 of the Act of June 30, 1834, provided that in appointments "a preference shall be given to persons of Indian descent," 4 *Stat. L.*, 735.

[35] Laurence F. Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs* (Baltimore, 1927), p. 33.

in ruling that "such a measure could not be 'for their benefit and comfort' or for 'the prevention of injuries and oppression.'" The decision excoriated the construction of the so-called treaty as surely resulting in the political extermination of these Indians.[36] Much sooner than the venerable justice anticipated was his direful prophecy fulfilled. "Old Hickory" exclaimed: "John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it." With presidential blessing Georgia ignored the ruling of the United States Supreme Court. Jackson advised Congress at the commencement of his second administration that the removal had been a success, but almost as a refutation this same Twenty-Third Congress made an appropriation to relieve the distress of the Indians already expatriated.[37]

Three-quarters of a century afterwards a favorable view of the removal policy was expressed by a student of the debated question, though it was granted that the action itself was hasty and incomplete.[38] At the time many writers refused this qualified endorsement. On his first trip up the Mississippi River in 1838 as a young missionary from France, Father Joseph Cretin, was dismayed at the sight of the discontented and disgruntled Creeks who were then being transported from their ancestral home in Georgia to Indian territory.[39] De Tocqueville was a critical contemporary foreign observer, while Frances Trollope desisted from her trenchant digs at the *Domestic Manners of the Americans* to mourn: "If the American character may be judged by their conduct in this matter, they are most lamentably deficient in every feeling of honour and integrity."[40]

---

36 *Worcester* v. *Georgia,* 6 Peters 553 (1832).

37 *Congressional Globe,* I, 386. In *American Conflict* (Hartford, 1865), I, 106, Horace Greeley wrote that Jackson's remark was told to him by Congressman George N. Briggs of Massachusetts.

38 Annie Heloise Abel, "The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi," *American Historical Association, Annual Report for the year 1906* (Washington, 1908), I, 412.

39 John Ireland, "Life of the Rt. Rev. Joseph Cretin, First Bishop of the Diocese of St. Paul," *Acta et Dicta,* V (July, 1918), 203.

40 Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York, n.d.), I, 367-372. Trollope, *op. cit.* (New York, 1949), p. 221.

A moving first-hand account of the hardships attendant upon Indian removal was contained in the letters and journal of Father Benjamin-Marie Petit. An advocate in his native Rennes, France, Petit had accompanied Bishop Simon Bruté to Vincennes, Indiana, where he was ordained a priest in October, 1837. His first and his only assignment was to the Potawatomi Indians near South Bend. In connection with an edict ordering his charges to Kansas, Petit stated:

> My heart is proudly Indian, and they themselves love me well, too. It is strange how God disposes all things through His providence: on this trip I gave advice to the sick, grandmother's advice; I prescribed bread-crumb poultices, applications of soap and sugar, and I am a great doctor among them. I took Father François to see them in their rush huts, and he was very much surprised to hear me chat with them without an interpreter, as well as sing Indian hymns during his Mass. I am astonished myself sometimes. I have a father's yearning for them, and I feel oppressed by a profound anguish whenever I think of seeing them forced to depart.[41]

During the march of exactly two months the priest recorded forty-three deaths in his journal. At the end of the three-mile-long procession rumbled forty baggage wagons. In some of these the sick were jolted over the rough roads, the canvas covers over the wagons more nearly suffocating than protecting these Indians from the burning sun. In Kansas Father Petit, through correspondence with General John Tipton, secured an allowance from Secretary of War Joel R. Poinsett to cover the erection of a house and chapel for his beloved Potawatomi.[42] Having entrusted his charges to a Jesuit missionary, Petit started homeward but died on the way, not yet two years a priest.

---

[41] AAI, Petit to M. the Vicar General [Clestin de la Hailandière], South Bend, Indiana, March 25, 1838.

[42] *Ibid.*, Petit to Monseigneur [Bishop Bruté], Osage River, Indian Country, November 15, 1838. The facts of Petit's life are taken from Rothensteiner, "Early Missionary Efforts Among the Indians," *op. cit.*, II, 91.

With the subsiding of open resistance, a more benign federal policy was discerned for the years after 1845. But the truth was uttered by William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, when he observed that it was vain to talk to starving Indians about learning and religion.[43] Joseph Cretin, who had become the first Bishop of St. Paul in 1850, understood this fundamental fact. To Archbishop John Hughes of New York and to the future Archbishop of Baltimore, James Roosevelt Bayley, he related his success in obtaining in Washington an educational grant for the Winnebagoes. But this tribe had been so harried by frequent removals from one alleged "permanent home" to another that the Bishop of St. Paul foresaw that most of the money would have to be spent for the primary needs of clothing and food, with little or nothing left for the expense of teaching the Indians.[44] Nevertheless, fortitude and zeal did partly overcome deficiencies such as this.

During this same period the Indians of Upper Michigan were blessed with a missionary of remarkable talent and dogged determination. Frederick Baraga, who belonged to a branch of the Hapsburg imperial house in the Austrian Empire, had been the first candidate sent by the Leopoldine Society of Vienna for work among the American Indians. Having arrived in New York on the last day of 1830, Baraga met the Michigan Indians for the first time the following May. At this time he had been a stranger to the country and to the English as well as the Indian languages, but notwithstanding, a little more than a year later he came to Detroit to have his own Indian reading- and prayer-book printed. This work of Baraga was the first book ever published in the pure Ottawa tongue, and later he translated a revised and extended edition of 300 pages into the Chippewa language. These literary achievements, and the fact his weight did not exceed 100 pounds, might argue against Baraga having done much work in the field; yet the contrary was, nevertheless, true. To reach his charges in the winter

[43] Schmeckebier, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[44] AANY, Cretin to Hughes, St. Paul, August 12, 1852; Cretin to Bayley, St. Paul, January 15, 1853.

INDIAN MISSIONS IN MICHIGAN

Map made by Frederick Baraga in 1833

From original in the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library

months he traveled on snow shoes through deep drifts and bitter temperatures, on one occasion walking twenty-four consecutive hours with no shelter nor rest.[45]

If forced removal had hampered and curtailed the spiritual care of the Indians affected, the secularization of the California missions in the 1830's by the Mexican government almost stifled it in the West and Southwest. It has been stated that "Indian education was almost entirely carried on by missionary groups," and it was no exaggeration to add that the padres were not only scholars but often able organizers, too.[46] Any question about the necessity for the continuance of the Spanish paternalism was answered by the rapid degeneration of the Indians, once the mission property cared for by the Franciscans had been confiscated by greedy Mexican politicians. In stark contrast to the attention the missionaries had devoted to him, the Indian of California was neglected entirely for forty years. All title of these red men to the mission lands, which had been held for them by the Franciscan padres, was lost through failure of the Indians to comply with congressional legislation of 1851, a fact of which, of course, they were unaware. A solution which was by no means unique was offered by Indian Agent John Wilson in the gold rush year of 1849; he judged northern Utah to be unfit for white settlement and so proposed that it be made a home for the Indians![47]

Approximately 7,000 Indians in the Pacific Northwest were more fortunate in several respects. True enough, the "firewater" distributed among them early in the nineteenth century had the usual degrading effect on the red men. The American

---

45 Richard R. Elliott, "Frederick Baraga Among the Ottawas," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, XXI (January, 1896), 111-121; *ibid.*, "The Chippewas of Lake Superior," XXI (April, 1896), 370. Consecrated in 1853, Baraga became the first Bishop of Sault Ste Marie (now Marquette), Michigan, in 1857. He died in 1868. Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, *Sanctity in America* (Paterson, New Jersey, 1941), pp. 53-56.

46 Edward Everett Dale, *The Indians of the Southwest* (Norman, 1949), p. 175; Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 7. Cf. Gerald J. Geary, *The Secularization of the California Missions, 1810-1846* (Washington, 1934).

47 Alban W. Hoopes, *Indian Affairs and Their Administration with Special Reference to the Far West, 1849-1860* (Philadelphia, 1932), pp. 132-133.

government, moreover, was charged with doing nothing to prevent commerce with vagabond white men. On the other hand, for many years these Indians were blessed with the beneficent influence of Dr. John McLoughlin, agent of the Hudson's Bay Company. And long before "Fifty-four-forty or fight" had been a presidential campaign slogan in the American states, Fathers Francis N. Blanchet and Modeste Demers, two missionaries from Canada, had been at work in the territory south of Vancouver. A striking instance of so-called savages longing for a "black gown," as the Catholic missionary was called, was given by the Nez Percé and Flathead Indians of the Northwest. As early as 1820 these Indians had learned something of the doctrine and practices of the Church from French-Canadian trappers. To gain a fuller knowledge four separate delegations were sent to far-distant St. Louis (in 1831, 1835, 1837, and 1839) to ask that a priest be given them. The first bishop of the Missouri trading post, Joseph Peter Rosati, could do no more than hold out a hope to the petitioners because of the lack of clergy.[48]

Left-handed Peter and Young Ignatius, the two volunteers for the trip of 1839, on their way to St. Louis met Father Pierre-Jean DeSmet at the Jesuit mission for the Potawatomi at Council Bluffs. DeSmet was selected to return with them in 1840, and in the spring of the following year he crossed the great plains to open the first American Catholic Indian mission west of the Rocky Mountains.[49] More will be said of this Belgian-born Jesuit who had journeyed to Missouri in 1823 as a religious novice from Whitemarsh, Maryland. Until his death in 1873 his dominant interest and concern were the Indians, and in his labors for the salvation of the red men he became

---

[48] Two of the Flatheads died while in St. Louis and were buried from the St. Louis Cathedral. Book of Sepultures, St. Louis "Old Cathedral," entries of October 31 and November 17, 1831.

[49] Garraghan, *op. cit.*, II, 248. Cf. Rothensteiner, "The Flat Head and Nez Percé Delegation to St. Louis, 1831-1839," *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, II (October, 1920), 183-197. Garraghan and others have rendered the Jesuit missionary's name De Smet, which apparently is in conformity with the priest's handwriting. The writer has, however, decided to follow the practice of other authors in using DeSmet.

highly valuable to the white men as well. In 1852 Senator Thomas H. Benton wrote that Father DeSmet could do more for peace than "an army with banners," adding that this was not only his own opinion but that of the authorities in Washington as well.[50] DeSmet traveled about 180,000 miles, including nineteen trans-Atlantic voyages, on behalf of the Indians.

The Civil War diverted national attention from the monumental work of DeSmet and the other missionaries; in fact, concern for civilizing the Indian receded far into the background. Several other developments during the 1860's were baneful to the temporal happiness of the red men and, of course, reacted adversely on spiritual development. The Homestead Act of 1862, as an instance, resulted in the pre-emption of 15,000 tracts during the war years, which was but one of the ways that the range was wrenched from the copper-skinned hand, no longer gradually but almost over night. With over seven million acres of land having been disposed of annually by this method, hunting parties shooting from trains merely accelerated the extinction for the plains Indian of his staff of life, the buffalo.

Few concrete proposals for the betterment of the lot of the redskin were offered during this decade. Yet the pressing need might have been deduced from a special survey which revealed the California Indians had been reduced in numbers to 21,000. For several years Congress considered setting up boards of investigation for the condition of the Indian, but the proposal finally was rejected. The expanding westward migration confirmed the system of confining the redskins to reservations, though this method tended to rob the Indian of his distinctive culture. In the administration of this policy little effort was made to abide by the provisions of the act of 1834, which had called for staffing the Indian service with tribesmen whenever possible. Instead a whole horde of white functionaries was attached to each reservation, and the Indian agent set the tenor

[50] AMP, IX, D-2, Benton to DeSmet, St. Louis, April 7, 1852.

for all. Too frequently this official was approved by his congressman solely on the score of the votes he had produced. The agent and his subordinates often justified the condemnation of Episcopalian Bishop Henry B. Whipple, who once said: "They are often men without any fitness, sometimes a disgrace to a Christian nation; whiskey sellers, barroom loungers, debauchees, selected to guide a heathen people."[51]

As the squeaky wheel of the old prairie schooner was the one greased, on a higher level of authority the policy was to appease the tribes which were prone to take the war path. In 1852 Superintendent Edward F. Beale, for instance, proposed using the entire appropriation for California for the southern tribes of that state because only from them did he fear an outbreak.[52] A recent student of the question has explained the odious comparison with Canadian Indian policy by pointing out that the United States promised more than actually was done, while the Dominion government, initially not so heavily committed, pleased their Indians with unexpected concessions.[53] Representative James A. Garfield (the later President) expressed the general feeling of 1869 in charging that "no branch of the national government is so spotted with fraud, so tainted with corruption, so utterly unworthy of a free and enlightened government, as this Indian department."[54] Yet there were refreshing exceptions that did not contribute to the deterioration of Indian morale which oftentimes stemmed from the corruption of their guardians.

An 1869 decision of the New Mexico Supreme Court declared that less—"vastly less"—crime would be found among a thousand of the worst of the Pueblo Indians than among an equal number "of the best Mexicans or Americans in New

---

51 Schmeckebier, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-52.

52 Beale to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 30, 1852, *Sen. Doc.* 4, pp. 366-367.

53 Loring Benson Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren* (New Brunswick, 1942), p. 173. Episcopalian Bishop Whipple urged that the United States government imitate the Canadian method. *The Churchman* [New York], XXXIII (March 3, 1877), 8.

54 *Congressional Globe,* 40 Cong., 3 sess., p. 881.

Mexico."[55] Again, a United States Indian agent reported of the Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles: "The missionary labors of the reverend Fathers have not been in vain, for many of them are exemplary Christians."[56]

To these Flatheads Father DeSmet had gone almost thirty years before in answer to their repeated pleas to the Bishop of St. Louis, but others were equally faithful without having been actually received into the Church. Because of lack of time for full instructions this Belgian-born priest had not baptized Pananniapapi (The Man that strikes the Ree) when he first met the Yankton head-chief in 1844; nevertheless, for twenty-two years the chief and his tribe waited for the missionary's return. Pananniapapi was not satisfied with baptism alone when the sacrament at last was given him in 1866. A letter signed by him and other Yankton chiefs, written shortly thereafter, begged for the Catholic teachers whom the "Great Father" in Washington had promised. Not only did he want the children of his tribe taught what he called "your religion," but he also asked that all be instructed in the American language and manners, for "we know enough," he wrote, "of the Indian ways."[57]

The military, too, judged DeSmet to have been a valuable ally. William T. Sherman in 1866 echoed the accepted opinion of those who were dealing with Indians on the frontier. The general informed the officers of the Mississippi military

---

[55] Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 387. In 1876 the United States Supreme Court said of these same Indians: "Since the introduction of the Spanish Catholic missionary into the country, they have adopted mainly not only the Spanish language, but the religion of a Christian church. In every pueblo is erected a church, dedicated to the worship of God, according to the form of the Roman Catholic religion, and in nearly all is to be found a priest of this church, who is recognized as their spiritual guide and adviser. . . . The criminal records of the courts of the Territory scarcely contain the name of a pueblo Indian. In short, they are a peaceable, industrious, intelligent, honest, and virtuous people"; *ibid., pp.* 387-388.

[56] M. M. McCauley to E. S. Parker, Missoula Mills, Montana Territory, September 27, 1839; *C.I.A., 1869* (Washington, 1870), p. 294.

[57] AMP, IX, D-12, The Man That Strikes the Ree, *et al.*, to DeSmet, Greenwood, D. T., July 26, 1866. Cf. Sister Mary Claudia Duratschek, O.S.B., *Crusading Along Sioux Trails* (St. Meinrad, Indiana, 1947), pp. 48-51.

division that every possible assistance was to be given to this Jesuit, for, Sherman added, he "has always been noted for his strict fidelity to the interests of our Government, for indefatigable industry, and an enthusiastic love for the Indians under his charge."[58] DeSmet, for his part, found that the co-operation of the army was of great assistance to his spiritual embassy to the Indians. Fair dealing with the Indians was the essence of his recommendations to the government officials for the attainment of improved relations between the red and the white men. Apparently DeSmet acquiesced in the ultimate consignment of all tribes to reservations, but he counseled Nathaniel G. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, that patience on the part of the federal government was required.[59]

Less than a year after this advice had been offered in 1867, DeSmet ably fulfilled his priestly role of the ambassador of the Prince of Peace by what his biographers have entitled as "the most important mission of his whole career."[60] Sitting Bull had sworn to kill the first white man he saw, and still the priest, alone, went to the mighty chief amidst 5,000 war-inflamed Sioux in their southern Dakota camp. It was solely due to DeSmet's influence that a treaty of peace was signed on July 2, 1868, by Sitting Bull and all the chiefs.

The twin loves of this Jesuit were, as General Sherman had discerned, his adopted country and her native Indians. Upon his return from Belgium the following summer of 1869, he exclaimed: "Though old and pretty much broken, I continue to feel great interest in the welfare of the Indians."[61] That

---

[58] AMP, IX A, Sherman to "All Officers of the Army within this Military Division," St. Louis, April 9, 1866 (AMP, IX, A, the same day a letter of commendation of DeSmet was written by Peter Richard Kenrick, Archbishop of St. Louis).

[59] AMP, IX-DeSmetiana, D-12, DeSmet to Taylor, St. Louis, September n.d., 1867, copy.

[60] Hiram M. Chittenden and Albert T. Richardson, eds., *Life, Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean DeSmet, S.J., 1801-1873* (New York, 1905), I, 92. The famed New York Republican, Thurlow Weed, said of DeSmet: "Every administration sought his services as a mediator of peace." *Western Watchman* (St. Louis), April 24, 1875.

[61] DeSmet to Madam [Mrs. W. T. Sherman], St. Louis, July 21, [18]69; the original is in the possession of Miss Eleanor Sherman Fitch of New York City.

welfare for him was primarily their spiritual life. In this same letter he spoke feelingly of the Upper Missouri tribes. These Indians, he said, had for years earnestly begged for religious instruction from "black gowns," but co-operation from the government was needed for the enterprise. And in 1870 he reminded the Indian commissioners that the Sioux chiefs, at the very moment Sitting Bull and the others had signed the 1868 peace treaty, had asked that Catholic priests be given them for the instruction of their children.[62] The government had done nothing toward fulfilling the promise.

DeSmet was not attempting to speak for the Catholic Church, but his successful labors among the Indians commanded respect in every quarter as the problem of handling the red race grew increasingly acute. Yet it was very gradually and with hesitant steps that the federal government attempted to solve this perplexing question. Only a few small day schools for Indians had been operating, and these were but a token of the many which were called for by treaties. Reviving the dictum of the House of Representatives committee of 1818 that education was the most potent accelerator of civilization, Ulysses S. Grant's administration sponsored a vast expansion of the school program.[63]

Notwithstanding this step forward, the lack of religious instruction in federal Indian schools rendered them insufficient for a people who for centuries had been steeped in the superstition of crafty medicine men. The Indian might be instructed, but the education of the whole man was not achieved. That need was supplied for a few by the opening of the first contract school on September 12, 1869, under the direction of the Reverend Eugene C. Chirouse on the Tulalip Reservation in Washington Territory. Under this system the government paid a fixed sum for each Indian child of this Puget Sound

---

62 AMP, IX-DeSmetiana, DeSmet to Indian Commissioners, St. Louis, January 5, 1870, copy.

63 *Stat. L.*, XVI, 359. On July 15, 1870, $100,000 was appropriated for the support of industrial and other schools among the Indian tribes not otherwise provided for.

area. About fifty children were taught academic subjects, religion, and vocational arts by the staff, which consisted of two assistants to Chirouse and three Sisters of Charity.[64]

Another scheme, originally proposed by representatives of the Protestant Episcopal Church, was for a citizens' supervisory board. A group of Philadelphians having made a similar suggestion in 1869, President Grant heartily approved and Congress eagerly adopted the experiment. The initial intention was for the Board of Indian Commissioners, as it was called, to supervise and control the disbursement of all appropriations for Indians. However, Grant's first Secretary of the Interior, Jacob D. Cox, objected, and the measure was amended to have the board exercise joint control with the Indian Office.[65] The Board of Indian Commissioners was thus organized at a meeting on May 26, 1869, and William Welsh of Philadelphia was named chairman, assisted by eight other volunteers. "No difficulty was found in securing the services of men of the highest character and known benevolence," exulted Cox. But retaining them, he discovered, was to be quite another matter. Foreseeing that the group's powers were to be emasculated—already begun through its lack of control over expenditures—Welsh promptly resigned.[66] Felix Brunot of Pittsburgh succeeded, but the board suffered a progressive decrease of influence throughout its existence, although its life extended to 1933.

Meanwhile the club over the Indians of superior military force had never been forsaken. In addition to not effecting peace, this was the most expensive phase of the United States policy. Before the Civil War it had been conceded that it was cheaper to feed the Indians for a year than to fight them for a

---

64 Anon., "Father Chirouse and the United States Government," *Indian Sentinel*, I (January, 1918), 18. In the same issue was a biographical sketch, "Reverend Eugene Casimir Chirouse, O.M.I.," by Charles M. Buchanan, pp. 10-14.

65 Elsie Mitchell Rushmore, *The Indian Policy During Grant's Administrations* (Jamaica, New York, 1914), pp. 19-21.

66 RBIA, Miscellaneous Correspondence, L.R., W339½, Welsh to E. S. Parker, Philadelphia, June 27, 1869.

single day. Again, according to an official estimate of 1870, more than $1,000,000 had been spent for every Indian killed in warfare. Notwithstanding, General Sherman had told Grant in 1866: "We must act with vindictive earnestness against the Sioux, even to their extermination, men, women, and children."[67] Two years later, as has been related, Father DeSmet had persuaded this same Indian nation to agree to a peace treaty without a shot or an arrow having been fired.[68]

The next move was the herald of a radical, far-reaching alteration in the Indian service. On September 14, 1867, the *Weekly Chronicle* of Washington, D. C., had suggested that the Society of Friends be enlisted in the work for the red men. In his initial message to Congress two years later Grant announced that the management of a few reservations was to be given to the Friends. The President declared that his choice stemmed from the historic friendliness between the Pennsylvania Quakers and the redskins, without making any reference to the rupture of that amity soon after the death of William Penn. One authority has ascribed the proposal of the President rather to a desire to circumvent senatorial opposition to his appointments.[69]

In presenting this idea Grant had given no hint that any other religious societies were receiving consideration for Indian work. Actually there was to be no place for them, for the administration intended placing the remaining agencies under army officers who were soon to be mustered out of service because of a reduction in force. This latter plan had to be tabled when Congress hastily erected a barrier of the "feather-bedding" by closing the doors of civilian service to the retired military men.[70] With this avenue blocked but the Indian problem remaining unsolved, in the following December President Grant announced his Peace Policy.

---

67 Lloyd Lewis, *Sherman, Fighting Prophet* (New York, 1932), p. 597.
68 *Supra*, p. 24.
69 Richardson, *op. cit.*, IX, 3992-3993. Cf. Schmeckebier, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
70 *Stat. L.*, 315, 319.

As a new chapter in the relations between the white and red races was being opened, it would be well to evaluate the accomplishments of the Catholic Church among the American Indians up to 1870. The ideal of the conversion of all of them, held forth to the Spanish from the first contact with this pagan people, had not been realized—else no Indian problem would have existed. Notwithstanding, there was glory for the Church in her predominance in the field in which her Indian missionaries had been the pioneers. Though restrictions had been imposed upon Catholics in all of the thirteen original colonies, the attempt to guide the redskin toward Christianity had never been entirely forsaken even under those conditions.

With the establishment of the republic the external limitations to missionary activity were in general removed, but the Church was hampered from within by a dearth of both material and human resources. As far as possible the evangelization of the red men was expanded, however, and in this effort the Church had received encouragement and sometimes assistance from the federal government. During almost a century of American independence the names of outstanding Catholic missionaries had become synonymous with the promotion of Indian welfare. This success in widely separated sections of the United States and with red men of virtually every tribe and nation was a favorable omen for further progress under the program then being launched by President Grant.

CHAPTER II

GROPING TOWARD UNIFIED ACTION

The year of 1869 brought the inauguration of the first President whose administration had not even a partial involvement in the War Between the States. While reconstruction still had eight years to run, the country was then far enough removed from actual hostilities for many people to have a quickened interest in the problem and the plight of the Indian. Congressional attention had been officially called to the serious situation by the report in January, 1867, of a joint special committee.[1] While the report itself was out-dated because based on surveys made two years before, Congress and the people were made aware of the need for correction of conditions. In addition to the moral obligation many influential citizens demanded action because of their financial interest in the construction of railroads to the west. Congress accordingly established a so-called "peace commission,"[2] which did nothing to alter Indian policy though recommending administrative changes. The agreements which this commission made with the tribes were nullified by the failure of the legislative branches of the government to appropriate funds for the fulfillment of the promises to the Indians.[3] By the last year of the 1860's many public officials and private citizens had become aroused to the point of insisting upon a betterment of the entire Indian administration.

As an explanation for the treatment, as well as the abject poverty of the Indian, it had been freely asserted by many that the aborigines would not work. The persistent encroachment of white men upon the lands of the red men was a powerful

---

1 *Senate Reports,* 39th Congress, 2 sess., No. 156.

2 Act of July 20, 1867, *Stat. L.,* 15:17.

3 *R.S.I., 1869* (Washington, 1869), p. 9. Cf. "Abbreviations Used in Footnotes" for meaning of symbols.

deterrent to care and cultivation, as the Board of Indian Commissioners pointed out in the initial report of that body. Again, the annuity system supplied the red men with more than ample provisions for the satisfaction of their simple wants. For example, in this very year of 1869 the government supply department fixed the food allowance for every Sioux, whether a papoose or an ambitious brave, at a pound and a half of beef daily, with a variety of other rations in corresponding quantities.[4] For a nation totally uninterested in providing for the distant and uncertain future, little incentive was present for toiling in the sun with a hoe or a plow.

William Welsh, Philadelphia philanthropist, had resigned his position as first chairman of the Board of Indian Commissioners only a little more than three weeks after President Grant had issued his executive order confirming the establishment of the commission. Grant's message confutes the assertion of the first report of the Board for 1869, wherein it was said that the presidential order was for the purpose of confirming the *powers* of the commissioners. An inspection of Grant's directive of June 3, 1869, reveals not a vestige of authority had been conferred. The most that the commissioners could do was to inspect and advise.[5] Nevertheless, the areas in which the Indian tribes were living were divided among the volunteer members, and a meticulous inspection of actual conditions was planned. The very prominence of the volunteer members of the board argued against their possessing the physical energy or the time for personal visits to the rough terrain still inhabited by the aborigines. It developed that ill health and the pressure of business were the exact excuses offered. These, coupled with the resignation of Welsh as chairman, limited the inspection tour to the southern district alone.

However they may have been denuded of jurisdiction, the members still did not lack courage to name abuses they en-

---

[4] DeWitt C. Poole, *Among The Sioux of Dakota* (New York, 1881), p. 46.

[5] *B.I.C., 1869* (Washington, 1870), p. 6, referring to Ulysses S. Grant's letter of June 3, 1869.

countered, the blame for which was directed mainly against the white race. Indian outbreaks were recognized as having occurred, but these were called exceptional and due to the white men having heaped up "a sickening record of murder, outrage, robbery, and wrongs." The board report observed that the principal hurdle to be surmounted in bringing about the civilization of the red men was the white man. Secretiveness, barbarity, and theft, if true of some of the Indians, were labeled as vices acquired from their white "guardians and protectors," for the descendants of the original inhabitants of the United States were recognized as wards of the government. Several legal and administrative changes were suggested, but these were not expected to affect the core of the problem.

For a true guardianship by the white man which would improve his red neighbor the report recommended educating the Indian. And this training was not to be merely in worldly knowledge but in the totality of human living through the truths of Christianity. Pertinent for this study is the sentence which reads: "The teachers employed should be nominated by some *religious body having a mission nearest to the location of the school.*"[6] This conclusion of the board members was not the first of its kind reached by representatives of the federal Indian service. The previous year Commissioner of Indian Affairs Nathaniel G. Taylor had condemned the federal policy as a violation of the national veneration of liberty and of the fundamental principles of Christianity. For harmonious relations Taylor insisted that both ideals must be cherished.[7]

From an administrative viewpoint the failure in the past with Indian affairs has been ascribed to the conflict over authority between the two cabinet departments of War and the Interior. A third component was added to the administrative machinery in the Board of Indian Commissioners, but it was sadly lacking in actual control. Chairman William Welsh, as has been noted, recognized that the board's authority over expenditures had

---

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10. The italics are the writer's.

[7] *C.I.A., 1868* (Washington, 1869), p. 16.

been nullified by Grant's letter of June 3, 1869. At once Welsh resigned. The other members were unwilling to take the same action, being placated by the assurance of the Secretary of the Interior that power would be conferred as the need was demonstrated.[8] It may be said by way of anticipation that the philanthropists never were vested with anything more than a purely advisory office. With the passage of time the voice of the group became increasingly less potent in affecting the procedure of professional politicians and office holders.

This same year of 1869 brought into the thrice-divided administration a fourth participant in this ring of physicians for the sick Indian. Members of the Society of Friends from Iowa capitalized on the previous newspaper suggestion in favor of that religious body by having an audience with the President-elect, Ulysses S. Grant. On January 25 these Friends met with the successful presidential candidate of the Republican Party. They presented a petition for "a more liberal and attentive consideration of the welfare of the Indians than had recently been given to the subject by his immediate predecessors."[9] The very next day a committee headed by Thomas Wistar and speaking for a Philadelphia assembly of the Quakers interviewed the future President for the same purpose. Both delegations reported a sympathetic hearing from Grant and his agreement with their desire to improve the lot of the Indian.[10]

Grant acted upon the approach made by the Friends by having one of his aids, the Seneca Indian Ely S. Parker, write identical letters the following February 15 to the two branches of this religious denomination, called the Orthodox and the Liberal (or Hicksites) in contemporary accounts. Therein the promise was made that Grant as President would do all he could to assist and encourage the Friends in caring for the In-

---

8 RSI, ID, L.S., VIII, 327-330, Jacob D. Cox to Felix R. Brunot, Washington, July 5, 1869.

9 *B.I.C., 1870* (Washington, 1871), p. 93.

10 Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians, 1655-1917,* p. 167.

dian. Positive action was indicated by Parker asking that the Society of Friends submit the names of members who had been approved for the position of Indian agents. After the inauguration of Grant for his first term on March 4, 1869, additional meetings were held between leaders of the Friends and of the government. Various tribes in the Middle West were assigned to agents named by the two branches of the Society. What was known as the Central Superintendency, which encompassed some of the red men in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) and the State of Kansas, was placed in charge of the Orthodox Friends. Nebraska tribes farther north were assigned to the Hicksites, and in this Northern Superintendency as well as in the south the superintendent, as well as the agents under him, were to be chosen by the Friends.[11]

By the summer of 1869 the new plan was in operation. In his report for that year Ely S. Parker, who was Grant's first Commissioner of Indian Affairs, hailed its success.[12] His superior, Secretary of the Interior Jacob D. Cox, explained that it was felt the naming of the Friends would indicate to the nation that peaceful relations with the Indians was the object sought. He added that it was not implied that the Friends were the only ones who were so qualified by honesty and good intentions.[13] A section of the first of Grant's annual messages to Congress was devoted to an explanation of the move. Therein the President, on December 6, 1869, said that the friendly harmony between Indians and whites two centuries before in the colony of Pennsylvania was still remembered by the country. He lauded the Friends for their own peacefulness, as well as their honesty and fairness as a group. All these considerations, the President said, had prompted the entrusting of a few reservations to them under the supervision of agents selected by the society itself.[14]

---

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 168-169, 187.

[12] *C.I.A., 1869* (Washington, 1870), p. 5.

[13] *R.S.I., 1869*, p. 10.

[14] Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, IX, 3992-3993.

In his words about the Indian service Grant had not expressed any intention of extending the care of the tribesmen to other religious groups, save the 25,000 entrusted to the Friends. The record indicates that he had no such plan, for the Department of the Interior report carried the proposal of giving the remaining Indian agencies to military officers. These men were awaiting orders because of reduction in force from 34,000 to 30,000. As had been done for the Friends, an appeal was made to the public to give these officers full confidence as Indian agents.[15]

Strictly as party measures no effective opposition could have been mustered to the administration's program, for the Forty-First Congress included only nine Democratic senators and seventy-five representatives of the same political affiliation. But Grant as President continued to act as the commander of the Union army.[16] Few of the senators—and then only his close friends—had been consulted in this first year of his administration. Yet the approval of the Senate was required in the appointment of Indian agents. Congress promptly gave the Civil War hero a lesson in the observance of congressional protocol by enacting, on January 21, 1870, a measure which forbade the placing of army officers in civil positions. The following July 15 further legislation forced army officers to choose between retaining appointments as Indian agents or relinquishing their commissions. In consequence more than 5,000 vacated posts, and some fifty Indian agencies were open.[17] This law was posterior to the original commissioning of the Society of Friends with the two midwestern Indian superintendencies already mentioned. Hence the extension of the policy to all reservations at this time seems to have been a direct result of the thwarting of Grant's plan for his former comrades in arms.

---

[15] *R.S.I., 1869,* p. 10.

[16] E. Benjamin Andrews, *History of the Last Quarter-Century in the United States, 1870-1895* (New York, 1896), I, 23-24.

[17] Martha L. Edwards, "A Problem of Church and State in the 1870's," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XI (June, 1924), 47.

To Vincent Coyler of New York, secretary of the recently formed Board of Indian Commissioners, has been given credit for proposing that the management of the Indian reservations throughout the United States be turned over to the missionary societies. Through the Secretary of the Interior the suggestion was brought to the attention of Grant. The President probably gave provisional approval, for Colyer proceeded to New York to confer with representatives of religious bodies having offices in that city. In person or by letter Colyer contacted the respective secretaries of the missionary boards. These included Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Protestant Episcopal, Reformed, American Episcopal, and Congregational Churches, together with Dr. Samuel B. Treat, secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The office of getting in touch with the Catholics was given to William F. Cady, a Catholic who was chief clerk in the Indian Office. These men having agreed to the tentative proposal, (with the approval of the President) Colyer began official correspondence with the missionary groups.[18] In the commissioners' report for 1870 these letters were reproduced, but no reference was made to communicating with the Catholics save a single statement in Colyer's letter of June 25, 1870. To the secretary of the American Episcopal Missionary Society, he said: "The Roman Catholics will take hold with eagerness."[19]

Ultimately Colyer reported acceptance of the responsibility of naming Indian agents by all of the groups consulted. The Indian Office not having information on the location of mission schools, the Secretary of the Interior was supplied with data by Colyer. The secretary had visited some of the Indian tribes the previous fall of 1869.[20] Accordingly, on December 5, 1870, President Grant made the formal announcement of the launching of his Indian policy in his second annual message to Congress. Because the following paragraph was so often cited

---

18 *B.I.C., 1870,* p. 4.
19 *Ibid.,* p. 95.
20 *B.I.C., 1869,* p. 6.

in later discussion, this part of his statement is quoted in full.

> Indian agencies being civil offices, I determined to give all the agencies to such religious denominations as had hitherto established missionaries among the Indians and perhaps to some other denominations who would undertake the work on the same terms—that is, as missionary work.[21]

One commentator has ascribed much of the succeeding controversy over the assignment of the red men to the vague wording by the President.[22] Regardless of the interpretation, Grant spoke of what had already taken place. The initial designation of agencies had been made the previous summer in absolute conformity with the recommendations of Colyer, secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners. In a comparatively brief letter of August 11, 1870, Colyer had answered a request made the day before by Secretary Cox. Therein he made an apportionment of the Indian tribes of almost the whole United States. With his letter Colyer presented a sketch or map, and together with the board report for 1870 these indicate that the assignments were made primarily according to geographical propinquity. In other words, not one, but several Indian nations in an area were entrusted to the same religious denomination.[23] On August 20 Secretary Cox advised that he had written to the various missionary associations the previous day, inviting them to take charge of the agencies which had been allotted to them. Catholics were not included among the groups which Cox had addressed, but the final paragraph of his letter read: "The missions in California and other places, under the control of the Catholics, are not embraced in the foregoing list, but are included in the general plan."[24]

By a curious juxtaposition a letter of Father Pierre J. De-Smet was placed in the report immediately after Colyer's letter

---

21 Richardson, *op. cit.*, IX, 4063-4064.

22 Rushmore, *The Indian Policy During Grant's Administrations*, p. 28.

23 *B.I.C., 1870*, pp. 5, 98. Colyer's map was not reproduced nor could it be found in the files of the Board of Indian Commissioners.

24 RBIC, L.R., Tray 118, Cox to Felix R. Brunot, Washington, August 20, 1870.

to Cox.[25] Therein the Jesuit told of the repeated appeals of the Sioux and other tribes for "black gowns." He also mentioned that the Catholic missions among the Potawatomi and the Osages had been highly successful for the preceding twenty years. DeSmet's letter was the sole communication from a Catholic representative printed in the report. Notwithstanding his statement, Colyer had recommended the assignment of the Indians mentioned to other than Catholics.

Two changes were made in original assignments in time to have been included in the second report of the Indian Commissioners. The Nez Percé reservation in Idaho had been placed in charge of the Catholic Church, but on February 1, 1871, Grant ordered this reservation at Lapwai, Idaho, reassigned to the Presbyterians. Colyer, as a result of his trip to the West, also reported that the Umatilla Reserve in Oregon, previously designated for the Methodists, should be given to the Catholics. Father G. Adolphe Vermeersch, S.J., had been the only teacher of these Indians for six years, and prior to his coming the tribe had repeatedly asked for a priest. The President approved the recommendation and directed that this reservation be given to the Catholic Church.[26]

In the month following Grant's formal announcement of the entrusting of Indian agencies to religious bodies the annual conference of the Board of Indian Commissioners convened in Washington. To this council a number of missionary figures were invited, thus rendering it the first joint conference of the board members with the representatives of religious societies engaged in Indian work. In addition to seven Indian Commissioners, present also at this gathering on January 3, 1871, were thirteen members of various religious groups. Ely S. Parker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and Columbus Delano, of Mount Vernon, Ohio, who had succeeded Cox as Secretary of

---

[25] *B.I.C., 1870,* p. 99.

[26] *Ibid.,* pp. 33-36. 1871 is the correct year instead of 1870 as given in the *Report.* A variant spelling of the missionary's name was Vermersch. Reserve is used as a synonym for reservation by the United States Indian Office.

the Interior, spoke for the government. Pierre J. DeSmet, who had been working for the Indians almost since his arrival in Missouri in the year 1823, represented the Catholic Church at this joint session. Three months afterwards he wrote a report of the proceedings, which will be discussed fully later.

Though the official report of the meeting is in summary form, two declarations by Secretary Delano are worthy of noting. First, the head of the Department of the Interior told the missionary representatives that the agents named by them were to be entirely responsible to the religious societies. "The only right we reserve is the right of instantaneous dismissal where they are unworthy."[27] Yet in his remarks before quitting the assembly Delano said something quite different relative to the same Indian agents. While the nomination of a man for an agency by the denomination to which it had been assigned would be tantamount to confirmation, Delano cautioned that "the Administration will reserve to itself the right to chop off the political heads of your friends whenever occasion may require it, and you must not complain of this."[28]

This open statement of intervention solely for political considerations may not have surprised the delegates; at least no objection on the part of any of them was recorded in the report. Perhaps, the importance of this declaration of policy was not then sufficiently appreciated by any of them, or they may have simply hoped for the best. Yet political interference was to become one of the major causes for the downfall of the system then being inaugurated. Grant's own incompetence as a civil executive and the lamentable choices he made in his principal aids, such as Delano himself, were other important contributors to its lack of success. Authorities have differed on the prime reason for the disintegration of the plan, though in each analysis there is agreement with the Supreme Court opinion of 1870

---

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 112.

that Indian relations with the government presented many difficult and perplexing questions.[29]

One writer had placed the failure of Grant's scheme in the red man having been treated as a subject for missionary evangelization instead of as a ward, though no explanation was made of why the guardian should not have permitted instruction for soul as well as body.[30] Two other commentators have agreed that Indian culture was shaken without a compensating substitute having been supplied. The reservation system may have been the first cause in this case and the entrusting of the agencies to the religious groups no more than an occasion. Particular fault has been found with the imposition of the public school system on people to whom it "was more foreign. . . than the facing on a garment."[31] That would agree with the joint condemnation by Father Vermeersch and agent William H. Boyle of the day school system imposed at their Umatilla Reservation in Oregon.[32] This was further borne out by the Department of Interior's report that Pueblo and Mission Indians, who had been trained by Catholic priests to be Christian husbandmen, were far advanced over other members of their race.[33]

Before taking up the 1870 plan for Indians mention should first be made of the abolition of the century-old practice of the United States making treaties with the tribes living within the limits of the country. Begun by the Continental Congress in 1775, the formal signing of agreements persisted through and

---

29 *Karrahoo* v. *Adams,* I Dillon 344, 347 (1870). For an excellent evaluation of Grant and his cabinet, cf., Allan Nevins, *Hamilton Fish* (New York, 1936), pp. 124-141.

30 Rushmore, *op. cit.,* p. 39.

31 Adams, *American Indian Education,* pp. 106. Cf. Cohen, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law,* p. 28.

32 *B.I.C., 1870,* p. 33.

33 *R.S.I., 1874* (Washington, 1874), p. 9. Because of the enduring care of the Spanish padres it has been asserted: "The Pueblo Indians have therefore been in more continuous contact with the activities of the Christian Church than any other American Indian people"; "Historical Sketch of Indian Missions," Board of Indian Commissioners, Bulletin No. 280 (1927), p. 2. (Mimeographed.)

after the Civil War. In 1865 several treaties included a clause that unilateral changes by the Senate would be binding upon the red men, even though not submitted to them for approval.[34] Five years later the Supreme Court ruled that congressional legislation might supersede a treaty, with the latter document ceasing to exist as far as judicial decision was concerned.[35] The window dressing of formal agreements came to an end with the passage of an Indian appropriation act of March 3, 1871. A clause in this legislation forbade future treaties but provided for the continuance of those already ratified.[36]

One writer has accounted for such a clause being added to the appropriation measure by stating that its adoption solved a quarrel between the two branches of Congress—hence a political agreement rather than progressive legislation.[37] Yet the actual passage must have been a happy event for some congressmen. It was hailed as a reason for congratulation and the supreme triumph of the decade for the benefit of the country's welfare.[38] This action has been termed the real and the greatest contribution of the Indian policy of Grant. Another authority found therein the ultimate destruction of the authority of the Indian chiefs, since the prestige and power associated with treaty making no longer were theirs.[39] A violent critic of the whole Indian policy of our government declared that the treaties were abolished in name only because of the merited embarrassment of Congress at the government's failure to abide by their provisions. Subsequently negotiations were conducted and signatures affixed to what were called conventions or agreements instead of treaties.[40] Even to the present day

---

34 Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, II, 883 ff.

35 *Cherokee Tobacco*, 11 Wallace 616, 621 (U.S., 1870).

36 16 *Stat. L.*, 566. The Board of Indian Commissioners had urged this change, *B.I.C., 1869*, p. 10.

37 Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren*, pp. 96-97.

38 *Congressional Globe*, Part 3, 41st Congress, p. 1823; *ibid.*, Appendix, p. 263.

39 Rushmore, *op. cit.*, p. 62: Priest, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-105.

40 H. H. [Helen Hunt Jackson], *A Century of Dishonor* (New York, 1881), pp. 27-28.

the enforcement of past treaties has continued, and their provisions constitute a primary source of current Indian law.

The same congressional act of March 3, 1871, extended to the Indians the right of acquiring land under the Homestead Act of 1862. That Civil War measure had excluded the Indians from its benefits; nine years later the privilege of claiming free land was given to the red men, provided tribal relations were severed. However, Indian entries were few in number. The reservation method became an imposition of necessity as white settlers used the transcontinental railroads to fan ever more widely over the former hunting grounds of the braves. The refusal of the newcomers to observe either the restrictions of treaties or the boundaries of reservations resulted in periodic outbreaks of trouble. Of these the extermination of Custer's force by the Sioux in 1876 is the most memorable.

Though the immediate cessation of money annuities had been urged in the initial report of the Board of Indian Commissioners,[41] that practice continued during the 1870's. Not only were the red men themselves perfectly agreeable to receiving grants in currency or in provisions, but many whites advocated perpetuation of the system. Probably the major benefit accrued to the latter, sometimes in the collection of fees or handling charges and often in illegal diversion of the goods. Such corruption as did exist has been ascribed to the system in use within the Indian Bureau. This procedure permitted frauds to escape detection for long periods of time and when discovered by chance, to go unpunished because of failure to enforce the penalties which had been written into the law. Some slow improvement was made in the annuity system during these years by the substitution of seeds and farm implements for issuances of food. It was hoped that thereby the Indians might be stimulated to combine their industry with the largess of the federal government.

---

41 *B.I.C., 1869,* p. 10.

The Indian, then, was sorely in need of care at the beginning of the decade of the 1870's. It is not strange that enthusiasm was general for the plan proposed by President Grant in his second annual message to Congress in December, 1870.[42] The hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the Pacific Northwest shared the belief that the allotment of the agencies to religious societies would correct past evils and abuses. The ranking ecclesiastic on the northern Pacific slope was Francis Norbert Blanchet, Archbishop of Oregon City. More than thirty years before he had come to that territory with Father Modeste Demers to lead the vanguard of Catholic apostles to the Indians. In the 1840's both of these priests from Quebec were elevated to the episcopacy, though in no sense being any less the actual missionaries of their territories.

Not much more time than was necessary to read and fully digest the announcement of the chief executive had passed when Blanchet wrote to E. S. Parker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. With joyful words he hailed the President's action as the manner in which the lot of the red men would be improved. But these words were simply the preamble to the archbishop's reason for writing to Parker. Catholics had long awaited the opportunity of regaining missions which were then under agents whom he considered hostile. "This wise plan will put an end to the sufferings of the poor Catholic Indian missions," he said, adding that he expected condemnation of it from the friends of the system previously in force. Blanchet entered his request for the three reserves of Umatilla, Warm Springs, and Grande Ronde. All were within the limits of his own ecclesiastical jurisdiction which was coterminus with the State of Oregon. A detailed history of the foundation and care at each of these missions where reservations had been established was related. Blanchet had warmly extolled the proposal for church care and earnestly set forth why the three missions named should have been assigned to the Catholic Church. Yet plantive trust was contending with doubt in the conclusion of his letter, when he said: "Hoping that the time of reformation

[42] Priest, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

has arrived, and that the new system proposed by our excellent President is not a mere show of vain words. . ."[43]

The Catholic diocese to the north of Oregon City was Nesqually,[44] comprising the whole of Washington Territory. In charge of this part of the Northwest was A. M. A. (Magloire) Blanchet, who had followed his brother Francis from Canada to Oregon Territory in 1847, also to act as an Indian missionary. Letters he wrote on successive days late in January, 1871, expressed his happiness over the news of the assignment of Indian reservations to the care of religious groups. The first of Bishop Blanchet's communications was to Eugene Casserly, United States Senator from California, while the second was addressed, like that of Archbishop Blanchet, to Commissioner Parker.[45] Both of these epistles were much the same, insisting upon justice in the assignment of Indian agents under the new plan. Blanchet wrote that he had been told that the President desired Catholic bishops to forward the names of suitable men for these positions in the territory within their charge. He cited a statement by Senator Henry W. Corbett of Oregon that all points established by Catholics would be assigned to that Church.

Blanchet then devoted most of his letter to a request for the help of Senator Casserly in obtaining the reservation of Yakima. The Catholic mission there had been established the year he arrived on the Pacific coast (1847) and had been maintained until an Indian uprising had forced a temporary withdrawal.

---

[43] *Catholic Sentinel* (Portland, Oregon), March 25, 1871, and *Catholic Advocate* (Louisville, Kentucky), April 22, 1871, both gave the full text of Blanchet's letter to Parker, Portland, Oregon, January 27, 1871.

[44] The spelling was at first "Nesqualy"; from about 1879 until the diocesan seat was transferred to Seattle in 1907 "Nesqually" was most frequently used. Today the name of the river is spelled "Nisqually"; Sister Marian Josephine Thomas, S.H.N., "Abbé Jean-Baptiste Abraham Brouillet, First Vicar General of the Diocese of Seattle," unpublished master's thesis, Seattle University (1950), p. 47, footnote. Seattle was named after an Indian chief who was the only Catholic layman present when the first Mass was offered on the site of the present city in December, 1852, by Bishop Modeste Demers; St. Louis *Register,* November 23, 1951.

[45] AAS, Blanchet to Casserly, Vancouver, Washington Territory, January 26, 1871; Blanchet to Parker, Vancouver, January 27, 1871, both copies.

In language which in its forcefulness was characteristic of subsequent letters of the two Blanchets, the Bishop of Nesqually charged that James H. Wilbur, a Methodist minister, had moved into the agency. Once there, Wilbur had remained with the assistance of another Methodist minister who was Indian Superintendent for Washington Territory. Nevertheless, Blanchet contended that 500 of the Yakima Indians were still members of the Church. Sixty had been found properly prepared for their first Holy Communion shortly before he wrote, Catholic services having been offered in a chapel outside of the government reserve. For this agency a man was nominated by Blanchet, but for the Tulalip and Colville establishments the names would be presented by others with whom the bishop agreed. In tone the letters of A. M. A. Blanchet were more confident than the one of his brother-archbishop, and certainly more aggressive in approach.

Within three weeks Bishop Blanchet wrote again to Parker in Washington, repeating the nominations for the three agencies which he had requested in his first communication. From that premise he proceeded to claim the agencies on Puget Sound and those for the Chehalis Indians, all in Washington Territory. The foundation of his request was a statement of the Indian superintendent to whom reference had been made in his letter of January 27. This Methodist official was quoted as saying that none but two, or three at the most, of the reservations should be given to the Protestant clergy. Of the trio only one was located in the Diocese of Nesqually, that of Spokane. The questionable agency of the three was that of Grande Ronde, which Francis N. Blanchet had requested in his letter of January 27 to the same official, E. S. Parker. Blanchet attached great weight to the conceding of the agencies to the Catholic Church by the representative of a denomination which he classed as the most opposed to Catholics.[46]

Probably before Bishop Blanchet's letter of February 16 was delivered in Washington Commissioner Parker addressed a

[46] AAS, Blanchet to Parker, Vancouver, February 16, 1871, copy.

reply to Francis N. Blanchet at Portland, Oregon. Parker claimed that the assignment of agencies had been made after mature deliberation and that no changes were intended at that time. Though he refused to accede to the requests for more reservations to be placed in the hands of the Catholics, the commissioner readily acknowledged that religious liberty was the policy for both Indian and missionary. Any mission or church already established could be used for religious worship, and this, of course, applied to all denominations.[47] Subsequent controversy over this point demonstrated that a radical alteration took place in the original conception of the Indian policy of the Grant administration.

Bishop Blanchet resumed his part in the struggle by appealing not to Parker but to Secretary of the Interior Delano. He said that the cabinet officer had been recommended to him as a man who was guided by principles of equity and justice to all. On the strength of this the bishop repeated his request for the Yakima and Puget Sound assignments, again citing the words of Superintendent Edward R. Geary that all of these should be given to the Catholic clergy. To this statement by a Methodist Blanchet added the declaration which had been made at the Oregon conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. There a statement had been made that the Catholic missionaries had always been ready to work for the salvation of the Indians. These compliments by non-Catholics and the history of Catholic missionary work which the bishop gave from his own experience in Washington Territory since 1847 were the foundation of his arguments. For those reasons he asked Delano to review the assignments of agencies and to make the adjustments requested.[48]

---

[47] *Catholic Sentinel* (Portland, Oregon), March 25, 1871, and *Catholic Advocate* (Louisville, Kentucky), April 22, 1871, reproduced the entire letter of E. S. Parker to F. N. Blanchet, Washington, February 23, 1871. The letters exchanged by Archbishop Blanchet and Parker were sent by the former to the *Catholic Sentinel* on March 20, 1871, with a letter to the editor in which he said that Grant's policy "has become a dead letter, a mere show of vain words, a perfect deception." The fault, however, was not ascribed to the President but to the friends of the old system who had subverted his design; *Catholic Sentinel*, March 25, 1871.

[48] AAS, A.M.A. Blanchet to Delano, Vancouver, March 31, 1871, copy.

The apportionment of agencies which Parker stated had been made "after mature deliberation" was essentially that which Secretary Colyer had recommended the previous August 11 in response to the request received the day before from Secretary of the Interior Cox.[49] In the record no consultation with Catholic representatives was shown. That, however, may be accounted for by other than design on the part of any government official. Father DeSmet was invited twice to a meeting of the Executive Committee of the United States Indian Commission in May, 1870. In each instance he replied that a previous intention of visiting the Sioux and his own declining health would prohibit his making the trip east.[50] Had he gone possibly his opinion would have been sought in regard to the assignment of agencies. And at this particular time very few of the Catholic hierarchy were available for consultation, for most of them were then attending the Vatican Council in Rome.

As has been mentioned, DeSmet was the only representative of the Catholic Church at the first joint meeting of the Board of Indian Commissioners with officials of religious bodies interested in the government's program. It has been asserted that this Jesuit missionary was chosen as deputy by the episcopacy of the United States.[51] Apparently the fact was that Secretary of the Interior Delano first invited the priest and then communicated with five of the country's archbishops, omitting those of New Orleans and San Francisco. In his letter written slightly more than a week before the actual meeting in Washington, Delano inquired if DeSmet was the proper representative of the Catholic Church relative to the appointment of In-

---

[49] *B.I.C., 1870,* p. 98.

[50] AMP, DeSmet Letterbook, IX, D-14, pp. 122-123, 125-132. During the previous summer DeSmet had written Mrs. W. T. Sherman, St. Louis, July 21, 1869, that he was in feeble health and confined to the Jesuit house. The original of this letter is in possession of Miss Eleanor Sherman Fitch. New York City.

[51] Cf. Duratschek, *Crusading Along Sioux Trails,* p. 21, n. 26.

dian agents.[52] At that late date there was little choice but to accede. DeSmet later remarked that he had been recommended by four archbishops. That delegates from dioceses all over the nation which had Indian subjects would have been present had ample notice been given cannot, of course, be decided now.

DeSmet's reactions to the meeting in Washington were recorded two months later in a letter to Archbishop Blanchet of Oregon City. The report of the Board of Commissioners for 1870 had included a summary of the aforementioned gathering in the first fortnight of the following year, but nothing was contained therein about reapportionment of Indian agencies. DeSmet did say that a formal decision of the President confirmed by the United States Senate was required for any modification of the list. And he observed that liberty of choosing the religion they would practice, the constitutional right of Americans, was denied to the Indians. Three-quarters and more of the race, he contended, would have asked for Catholic priests. To his presence at the convocation DeSmet ascribed the assigning of Catholic agents for the agencies at Devil's Lake, Dakota Territory; Tulalip in Washington Territory, and Umatilla in Oregon. However, he stated that Archbishop Blanchet's letter had decided the approval of Narcisse Cornoyer for the last-named post, since the senators from Oregon had desired another man as agent. While placing himself at the service of Blanchet, the veteran missionary readily admitted that he was poorly informed about any missions save those

---

52 AAB, 38-0-7, C[olumbus] Delano to M[artin] J. Spalding, Washington, January 4, 1871, advised that the same inquiry was being made of the archbishops of Cincinnati, New York, St. Louis, and Portland, Oregon. *Ibid.*, Spalding to Delano, Baltimore, January 9, 1871, copy, approved DeSmet because of his honesty and his acquaintance with the character and wants of the Indians. DeSmet later said he was appointed in December, 1871, but the context of the letter indicated that he meant this earlier approval by the archbishops; AMP, IX, DeSmet to Delano, St. Louis, June 19, 1872, copy.

cared for by his own Society of Jesus in Idaho and Montana. DeSmet hoped that fuller information about other Indian reservations where Catholics had a prior claim might influence the government officials to make a more equitable distribution.[53]

A non-Catholic authority on the Indian situation in the 1870's has written that the opposition slowly generating against the program of the Grant administration was not surprising.[54] This commentator has maintained that the assignment of less than a tenth of the reservations to the care of the Church which had been contributing over half the funds spent on Indian missions was ample cause for dissatisfaction. He further testified that government officials frankly admitted that there had been poor recognition of the rightful claims of the Catholic Church. But regardless of the merits of the case in particular instances, the possessors of the agencies naturally desired to retain them. Against a single contender for what they held jointly, the non-Catholic holders were determined to resist.

Nor was the policy of the government hailed with enthusiasm by some in physical contact with the uncivilized tribes of the plains. The term "peace policy" was scornfully applied to the program by a Texan newspaper as it reported in March, 1871, that another Indian raid on frontier settlements had forced more whites to quit their homes.[55] To test the validity of the reports of outrages General William T. Sherman made a three-months' inspection tour of the Texas frontier, starting in April, 1871. While traveling overland between Jacksboro and Fort Griffin the official party escaped an attack by Kiowa and Comanche Indians only because the savages preferred to seize a baggage train which was close behind. Seven of the white men with the loaded wagons were brutally murdered in the on-

---

53 AAP, DeSmet to F. N. Blanchet, St. Louis, March 11, 1871. With the addition of details already familiar to Blanchet, DeSmet sent the same information to a Jesuit in England; AMP, IX, D-15, p. 201, DeSmet to Peter Gallwey, S.J., St. Louis, May 3, 1871, copy.

54 Priest, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

55 San Antonio *Daily Express*, March 7, 1871.

slaught.[56] After his fortunate escape Sherman was quoted at great length as condemning the "benevolent civilizing peace policy," which he contended was advocated by residents of eastern states who were far and safely removed from contact with uncivilized red men.[57] Three years later Sherman was still irritated by the incident. Upon Governor Edmund J. Davis of Texas releasing two Indian chiefs who had been convicted of first degree murder for this raid, the general bluntly upbraided the governor and said he would not again voluntarily visit the Texan frontier.[58]

In the same month in which he had reported to Archbishop Blanchet the proceedings of the January meeting in Washington, DeSmet resorted to a personal appeal to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. DeSmet wrote with the assurance of a man who was far more familiar with the Indian mind than most of the other thirty-eight million Americans of the time. Not quite a year previously the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad had made feasible a trip through the West for most of his countrymen, but DeSmet had been traveling to and with Indians clear to the Pacific slope since 1840. To Commissioner Parker, himself a full-blooded Seneca, the missionary recalled the trip of 1867 which they had taken together in the interests of the red men. From that close contact DeSmet asserted he was certain of Parker's fairness. The Jesuit apologized, as he had to Archbishop Blanchet, for not knowing complete statistics about the Catholic missions at the council in Washington. Having obtained them in the meantime from Joseph Giorda, Jesuit superior of the Rocky Mountain area, DeSmet expatiated on them in detail, adding his own experiences in each place during the preceding thirty years. Already Bishop Blanchet of Nesqually had complained to Parker about the exclusion of Catholic priests from the Yakima Reserva-

[56] Martin L. Crimmins, "General Randolph B. Marcy's Last Tour of Texas," *West Texas Historical Association Yearbook*, XXV (October, 1949), 74-75. Royston Campbell Crane, "Damage Claims for Attacks on Warren's Wagon Train," *ibid.*, XXI (October, 1945), 72.

[57] San Antonio *Daily Express*, June 13, 1871. Cf. Priest, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

[58] LC, Sherman Papers, Sherman to Davis, n.p., February 16, 1874, copy.

tion. This charge was repeated by DeSmet from the information supplied by Father Giorda, who had been so treated by agent James H. Wilbur. DeSmet granted that the Presbyterians had a claim to the care of the Nez Percé Indians because of priority in the field. Nevertheless, he was acquainted with several hundred of the tribe who were Catholics. On the same grounds he petitioned Parker for reassignment of the Yakima Reservation, where Catholic missionaries had first gone in 1847.

Still writing of Indians he had been attending himself for the preceding three decades, DeSmet said that he presumed giving the Dakota Sioux to the Episcopalians would not prohibit his visiting his converts among them. He had personally baptized several thousand of that nation. Though his health remained poor, the Jesuit anticipated soon going to the Grand River agency to introduce two priests to his Indian friends there. The missionary's familiarity with this Dakota reservation was revealed through his passing comments on the arid soil and the sparseness of timber. Strange to say, neither the renown of this missionary nor their previous personal association induced Parker to send a reply of any kind. That this lack of acknowledgment became widely known was apparent from the text of DeSmet's letter having been printed in a West coast Catholic newspaper in 1873, two years after it had been written. In an accompanying editorial sorrow was expressed that no notice had been taken of the communication either by Parker or by the Board of Indian Commissioners. The members of this board had been in session at the time the letter was delivered in Washington.[59]

Since no action was taken in regard to reapportionment, Archbishop Blanchet again wrote Parker on July 8, 1871. The immediate concern at that moment was the resignation of

---

[59] RBIC, L. R., Tray 2, DeSmet to Parker, St. Louis, March 27, 1871. On the back of the letter is this notation: "Action: Placed on file." *Freeman's Journal*, May 3, 1873, published the letter in full, as did the *Catholic Sentinel* (Portland, Oregon), April 11, 1873. The editorial in the latter paper was entitled "Our Catholic Indians."

Charles LaFollet, Indian agent at the Grande Ronde Reservation, southwest of Oregon City. The day before Blanchet had telegraphed to request that the resignation not be accepted. The agent was not a Catholic but he had permitted Catholic missionaries to work at Grande Ronde. Though Blanchet repeated his statement of the previous January to the effect this reservation belonged to the Catholic Church, the archbishop had not objected to LaFollet because of the agent's neutrality. Blanchet claimed it was for this very reason that the Methodists were trying to force the agent out. The occasion was taken to reiterate his request for the Oregon reservations which, he asserted, had been cared for originally by Catholic missionaries. He cited, as had DeSmet, the restoration of the Lapwai reserve of the Nez Percés to the Presbyterians as precedent for a like reversal of the department's initial designation.[60]

Much of Blanchet's letter was similar to the one DeSmet had written to Parker in March of that same year, but the two communications differed radically in the manner of approach. DeSmet had been conciliatory and laudatory; Blanchet was sharply critical. In reference to some non-Catholics he used the designation of "infidels," and scored the various denominations for teaching contradictory doctrines to the Indians. The long letter of thirteen handwritten pages has been used as an example of how government officials were at times needlessly irritated.[61] On the other hand Bishop Edwin V. O'Hara regarded it as a vigorous and indignant protest by a veteran of Indian missionary labor in the Northwest who antedated even DeSmet.[62]

Official reply was made by the Secretary of the Interior, Columbus Delano, for Parker had just resigned.[63] Indirectly he

---

60 RBIC, L.R., Tray 2, Blanchet to Parker, Portland. AAP has the original draft of this letter.

61 Priest, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

62 O'Hara, *Pioneer Catholic History of Oregon* (Portland, Oregon, 1911), pp. 205-206.

63 RBIC, L.S., Tray 2, Delano to Archbishop Blanchet, Washington, July 31, 1871. Henry R. Clum was acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs until the appointment of Francis A. Walker.

took exception to Blanchet's authority by reminding the archbishop that Father DeSmet was the recognized representative of the Catholics in the appointment of Indian agents. However, for the time being he acceded to the request to decline the resignation of Agent LaFollet. As for the apportionment of the reservations, Delano disclaimed responsibility in that all assignments had been made before he assumed office. He added that fairness had been intended but that the allotment would prove acceptable in every case had not been expected. "It was hoped, however," he said, "that a spirit of Christian charity" would induce everyone to agree to the appointments and thereby help the Indian Bureau. Delano made numerous ironical allusions to Blanchet's use of the terms, "dissenting sects" and "infidels," which were designations he refused to accept. In conclusion he claimed that the Catholics were to be treated on the same basis as all other denominations, which, he contended, had been true in the past.

The irony in the Secretary of the Interior's letter did not daunt the venerable archbishop, nor did the protestation of equality of treatment convince him that he should be satisfied. Again he forwarded another lengthy protest, but this one was more conciliatory in tone.[64] Goodly portions of Blanchet's remarks were devoted to rectifying misunderstandings by Delano. The first was in regard to the secretary's statement that DeSmet was the official representative of the Catholic Church for Indian matters. Blanchet replied that he had not been so advised either by DeSmet himself or by the Department of the Interior. Delano had said that he supposed Blanchet was informed about Oregon and was authorized to act for the Catholics there. The Archbishop of Oregon City pointed out that according to the law of the Church every bishop had full jurisdiction over his diocese, being "what a father is in a family, a governor in a state," but with the added obligation of the spiritual welfare of his children. Delano's query as to whether he was familiar with Oregon and its needs Blanchet accepted

64 AAP, Blanchet to Delano, Portland, September 12, 1871, copy.

in good spirit, for his more than thirty years of activity in the state required no defense of his competence and knowledge of the area.

The second misunderstanding he sought to correct was that the term "infidels" had not been applied to Protestants, the archbishop explaining that men of no religion were in charge of Indians in the Northwest. "Dissenting sects" he continued to use in referring to Protestants, contending that this expression was in accord with general custom. He admitted that the secretary could not choose between the various denominations. Yet Blanchet's recalcitrant spirit showed forth in refusing to credit this to the official's charity, he ascribing it rather to the duty to which Delano was bound by the American Constitution. Immediately he returned to his basic argument, namely, that freedom of worship was not being granted to the Indians. In previous correspondence Blanchet had reviewed missionary labors by Catholics in his own Northwest. He now expanded his field to most of the tribes of the nation, citing with surprising familiarity the work of Catholic priests in Indian territory far distant from that under his jurisdiction. Again he recalled the President's promise that missions would be assigned first of all to their founders among the religious groups, and asked if this had been actually done. Mere equality on the basis of the Catholic Church being one among the total number of religions then having an interest in the Indians would not, he contended, be satisfactory. The President's standard of priority in the work would thereby be disregarded, and in number of members in the total population of the United States he said that the Catholic Church was almost equal to all others. Instead of the four agencies Blanchet said had been given to the Catholics, they should have had three-quarters of the whole. As he figured the total, it would have been seventy-five out of one hundred.

In reporting about the Washington conference of the previous January, DeSmet had said that the Board of Indian Commissioners sought the particular benefit of the non-Catholic

groups.[65] At this time Blanchet protested strenuously against the failure of Grant to appoint even one Catholic to that board. Calling attention to the fact that he was the senior among all the Catholic bishops of the United States, Blanchet professed to speak in the name of all of them, a fact which has been recognized by later commentators.[66] In conclusion he thanked the Secretary of the Interior for his declaration that justice would be done and asked that the professed fairness be expressed in action by a rectification of the unjust partition of the agencies.

The elderly archbishop had written strongly as well as at length, but apparently with small expectation that his demands would be granted. Not two weeks after addressing Secretary Delano, he told another missionary of long experience in the Northwest: "There is little hope of obtaining justice. . . . Methodist influence is too strong with the President to let him carry out the new policy. How weak the Government shows itself with regard to everything pertaining to Catholics."[67] Two writers, not members of the Catholic Church, have agreed that Blanchet's contention of hostility to Catholics was borne out by the few references in official reports to their extensive missionary labors and the continued absence of any Catholic among the members of the Board of Indian Commissioners.[68] May the antagonistic spirit in high places and in low be attributed to any single cause? One commentator has said that a white heat of acrimony was reached by the publication as an

[65] *Ibid.*, DeSmet to Blanchet, St. Louis, March 11, 1871. His English confrère was told: "In England you will hardly be able to believe that such a state of things exists in the much boasted free Republic of the United States"; AMP, IX, D-15, p. 201, DeSmet to Gallwey, St. Louis, May 3, 1871, copy.

[66] AAP, Augustin Vérot, S.S., to F. N. Blanchet, St. Augustine, December 14, 1871. The Florida bishop added that he feared Blanchet would not succeed in changing the application of the government's Indian policy, but from the effort "all Catholics at least may know the iniquitous ways of the Administration, [and] perhaps shame will inspire them with better counsels." Cf., O'Hara, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

[67] Blanchet to Toussaint Mesplié, Portland, September 21, 1871. Letter in full was given by Cyril Van der Donckt, in "The Founders of the Church in Idaho," *American Ecclesiastical Review*, XXXII (January, 1905), 12.

[68] Priest, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35; George W. Fuller, *The Inland Empire of the Pacific Northwest* (Spokane, 1928), II, 90.

official document by the United States Senate of the Spalding version of the Whitman massacre.[69] Not only for an understanding of the account contained therein but because of the direct involvement of figures active in Indian work in the 1870's a brief review of the case is here necessary.

Reference has been made previously to the first delegation to St. Louis in 1831 by Flathead Indians to request that Bishop Joseph Rosati send a priest to their tribe. Three more trips were made across country by Indians from this area before Pierre DeSmet was sent to them in 1840. Meanwhile ministers of the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches acted upon a report of the initial petition. Among those who went to the Oregon area were Dr. Marcus Whitman and the Reverend Henry H. Spalding. They took up residence among the Cayuse Indians at Waiilatpu, close by the Walla Walla River.[70] In a letter written jointly by Whitman and the Reverend Asa B. Smith, on September 28, 1840, they concurred in advising the Reverend David Greene, Secretary of the American Board (Presbyterian-Congregational-Dutch Reformed), that "Mr. Spalding has a disease in the head, which may result in derangement, especially if excited by external circumstances."[71]

In 1847 Whitman refused to heed repeated warnings of rising discontent among the Indians, and on November 29 he was slain, together with Mrs. Whitman and twelve others. Father Jean-Baptiste Abraham Brouillet, a Canadian who had arrived in Oregon Territory that fall, had been charged with the care of all the Cayuse Indians by Bishop A. M. A. Blanchet but three days before.[72] The evening after the slaughter he came to Waiilatpu to visit some sick Indians and was horrified to find the victims of the massacre. The following morning he buried Whitman and the others, and as he gladly left the

---

69 O'Hara, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

70 Charles H. Carey, *History of Oregon* (Portland, Oregon, 1922), II, 351.

71 William I. Marshall, *Acquisition of Oregon and the Long Suppressed Evidence about Marcus Whitman* (Seattle, 1911), II, 116.

72 AAS, Blanchet à Brouillet, n.p., November 26, 1847.

blood-crazed Indians he met the Reverend Mr. Spalding on his way to the camp. Persuading the Cayuses not to kill the minister Brouillet enabled him to escape, to the great irritation of the Indians. When he had reached safety Spalding wrote to Bishop Blanchet at once to express his thankfulness for the help from one whom he called "my dear friend" [Brouillet].[73] From this gratitude Spalding had an amazing change of heart. The next year he published in the *Oregon American* a number of charges, the chief of which was that the Catholics had in some way been responsible for the Indian attack. Archbishop Blanchet lamented to the Coadjutor Bishop of Quebec these calumnies but expressed the conviction that the truth would eventually be made clear.[74] Brouillet himself wrote a refutation of the charges in a booklet of 107 pages, which was published in several Catholic newspapers and finally was included in the official report of J. Ross Browne, special agent of the United States Treasury Department.[75] The long simmering controversy regarding the massacre of 1847 came to a boil twenty-four years later with the inclusion in the Senate record of the Forty-First Congress of a pamphlet written by Spalding. Most of the eighty-one pages was taken up with copies of resolutions by various Protestant assemblies and an account of the missionary work in the Northwest of Whitman, Spalding, and others. But hatred of Catholics was provoked by a qualified statement that the slaughter "at Waiilatpu was evoked, there is abundant evidence to believe, by the Jesuit Fathers."[76]

---

[73] *Executive Document No. 38,* House of Representatives, 35th Congress, 1st Session, January 25, 1858, pp. 36-43.

[74] F. N. Blanchet, *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon* (Portland, Oregon, 1878), pp. 173-176. Cf. Sister Mary Letitia Lyons, S.H.N., *Francis Norbert Blanchet and the Founding of the Oregon Missions, 1838-1848* (Washington, 1940), p. 186, quoting letter of Blanchet to Coadjutor Bishop Pierre-Flavien Turgeon, n.p., March 3, 1848, original of which is in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Quebec.

[75] Jean-Baptiste Abraham Brouillet, "Protestantism in Oregon," published in *Executive Document No. 38;* cf. n. 73 *supra.*

[76] *Executive Document No. 37,* Senate, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, contained the pamphlet sent by Columbus Delano, Secretary of the Interior, February 9, 1871. In an editorial, "Slanders Against the Church," the *Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore), April 13, 1872, denounced the charges as "a monstrous falsehood from beginning to end."

From St. Louis Father DeSmet tried to quell the storm provoked by sending a copy of Brouillet's forgotten refutation to a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners. He added his own vigorous protest against the publication of Spalding's charges by Congress without any attempt at investigation of them.[77] However, that action on the part of a missionary who was actually a Jesuit (Brouillet and the brothers Blanchet were not) did not stem the tide of bigotry, nor did the reminiscences which Archbishop Blanchet published in 1878. Complete refutation had to await the twentieth century in the two-volume work of William I. Marshall which has already been cited.[78] The hope which Francis Blanchet had expressed in 1848 of the truth being known sooner or later was then fulfilled but far too late to aid in his struggles of 1871. Because Spalding's pamphlet had been placed in the Senate record at the request of Secretary Delano, on this official was laid the blame for the barbs at the Church, and at Brouillet and the Blanchets in particular. Brouillet himself bore witness against the notion that Delano was the culprit. In 1873 the missionary notified a Catholic newspaper that Delano was in no way to be charged with that attack upon him.[79] So much, then, for this special cause of the anti-Catholic feeling of 1871 which rendered Archbishop Blanchet so pessimistic of the success of his efforts in behalf of the Catholic Indians.

---

77 RBIC., L.R., Tray 2, DeSmet to Robert Campbell, St. Louis, April 18, 1871.

78 Cf. n. 74 and 71 *supra.* Marshall, a non-Catholic public school principal in Chicago, was aroused by popular disbelief he found on the Pacific coast of the printed accounts of the 1847 disaster. From a study of all the documents cited in his work he concluded that the charge the Whitman massacre had been instigated by Catholics was "as atrocious and as inexcusable a slander as ever was uttered." *American Ecclesiastical Review,* XXXII (January, 1905), 13-14. The causes Marshall assigned were accepted in "Historical Sketch of Indian Missions," Board of Indian Commissioners, Bulletin No. 280 (1927), p. 6. (Mimeographed.) While Marshall published the first book devoted entirely to the refutation of the story about Whitman, the charges of Spalding had been rejected as a complete fabrication by Edward G. Bourne in "The Legend of Marcus Whitman," *American Historical Review,* VI (January, 1901), 276-300.

79 ABCIM, Brouillet to Editors, *Catholic Mirror,* Washington, June 3, 1873, copy.

The courage which had been required of an Indian missionary in the Pacific Northwest of 1838 had not been lost to Blanchet in the assumption of the office of archbishop. Once again he resumed the fight from which he felt he could not desist without being guilty of grave wrong.[80] But the futility of individual protests to Washington from the most remote of the union's thirty-seven states must have occurred to the Archbishop of Oregon City. He and his brother at Nesqually were speaking for only two of the fifty-six dioceses and nine vicariates apostolic in the United States at that time.[81] Together the hierarchy of the country would be much more impressive. That conviction was expressed in Francis Blanchet's next effort, which was not directed to the government offices in Washington but to his fellow archbishops and bishops of the nation.[82] Having reviewed the correspondence with Parker and Delano, he asked that in future negotiations he not only claim to represent all by reason of his seniority, but that he be furnished the written evidence in the form of letters from those he was then addressing. In fact, he requested these endorsements of his role be sent to him in duplicate, that one copy might be forwarded to the Secretary of the Interior. His appeal concluded with a summary of the wrongs the Church had already suffered in regard to the Indian missions and an exhortation to prompt counteraction.

This project never materialized, however, at least in the form implied in Blanchet's letter to the bishops. A month later he told of his appeal to James A. McMaster, editor of the New York *Freeman's Journal*.[83] The first to approve his proposal had been Martin J. Spalding, Archbishop of Baltimore, who had sent Blanchet a copy of the approbation which had been addressed directly to Washington. To the judgment of Mc-

---

80 AAP, Blanchet to Delano, Portland, September 12, 1871, copy.

81 *Sadliers' Catholic Directory, Almanac, & Ordo, 1871* (New York, 1871), *passim.*

82 AUND, Blanchet to John Baptist Purcell, Portland, November 6, 1871. A similar letter is in AAB, 72-F-4, Blanchet to James Gibbons, Portland, September [November] 6, 1871.

83 AUND, Blanchet to McMaster, Portland, December 5, 1871.

Master Blanchet left the publication of his circular letter to the American hierarchy, it having been his intention to release it to the public. But the columns of the *Freeman's Journal* in the waning days of 1871 were devoted to the seizure of the Papal States the previous year by the troops of King Victor Emmanuel II, and the letter of Blanchet was not printed.

However, a few days before there had been published in this newspaper its first attack on Vincent Colyer, secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners. In criticizing that official for alleged arbitrary treatment of the Apaches in Arizona, care was taken to exculpate President Grant.[84] That same first week of December the President in his third annual message to Congress reported results in the care of the Indians. In asking for liberal appropriations to provide for its continuance Grant himself for the first time used the term which others had already applied to his program, "the Indian peace policy."[85] But the satisfaction which the chief executive expressed was not echoed by Catholics acquainted with the actual operation. Two days after Christmas of that year Francis P. McFarland, who as Bishop of Hartford, Connecticut, had no direct connection with the redskins and their problems, told Archbishop Blanchet of a letter from a Protestant gentleman. Therein the writer had given as his belief that an organized plan had been made to drive Catholics from their missions in the Far West and to compel the Indian members of the Church to abandon their religion in favor of Methodism. This man urged the same course as Blanchet had been advocating, namely, a strenuous effort to maintain religious freedom for all Americans.[86]

There was no representation for the Catholic Church at the joint conference between the Board of Indian Commissioners and the missionary societies, which convened in Washington on Jauary 11, 1872. Father DeSmet had been invited to attend

84 *Freeman's Journal,* December 2, 1871.

85 Richardson, ed., *op. cit.,* IX, 4106.

86 Anon., *Official Construction of President Grant's Indian Peace Policy* (Washington, [1876]), p. 6.

but was prevented by his absence from the country for his last trip to Europe in behalf of the Indians.[87] Noteworthy in the proceedings of this assembly was the first external rift in the blanket of acclaim which had hitherto covered the Indian program of Grant. William A. Phillips, soon to be a member of Congress from Kansas, was called upon to address the meeting. In extended remarks he climaxed his criticism of the government's dealings with the Indians by declaring that actually no policy at all existed.[88] The figment of the board possessing any true power would have been dissipated by reading its own reports, such as the minutes of the fruitless council of the Shoshone Indians of Wyoming with Chairman Felix R. Brunot in September, 1872.[89] While the commissioners have been credited with continuing to exert influence in Indian affairs,[90] even the red men were becoming conscious of the members' lack of any power to make a binding decision. But however illusory its authority, the Board of Indian Commissioners was to continue in existence until long after abandonment of the Peace Policy.

On the other side of the nation Francis Blanchet was far from satisfied with the division of Indian agencies under that same Peace Policy. At the time of the January meeting Catholics had charge of some 17,000 red men on seven reserves. This was far less than the number of tribesmen which had been given to the Society of Friends which had scarcely 70,000 members in the whole country. In contrast the Episcopalians, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists had all been assigned much greater numbers of Indians, ranging up to more than 54,000 for the last denomination.[91] The small improvement which had been attained, Blanchet was convinced had been owing to the personal efforts of a Jesuit priest at St. Aloysius Church in the capital. This Father Bernard A. Maguire had presented and

87 *B.I.C., 1871* (Washington, 1872), pp. 158-159.
88 *Ibid.*, pp. 174-176.
89 *Ibid., 1872* (Washington, 1872), pp. 60-61.
90 Rushmore, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
91 Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs*, p. 55.

explained his pleas to the government officials. This success prompted Blanchet to make a complete reversal of the attitude expressed the previous September to Secretary Delano that he preferred direct correspondence with the department to mediation by another.[92] At this time the archbishop frankly admitted that nothing at all would have been accomplished without Maguire's personal contact. Accordingly, in order to have a representative constantly available he had asked the Archbishop of Baltimore to appoint one at once. His recommendation was never acted upon because Archbishop Spalding was already gravely ill and three weeks later was dead. His successor did not take charge in Baltimore until the following fall, and in the meantime nothing was done about Blanchet's proposal.

The change of mind on the part of Blanchet was in no way the result of a lack of confidence in the original representative of the archbishops, Pierre J. DeSmet. Many times in the following six months the Archbishop of Oregon City was to voice the fervent hope that the veteran Jesuit would accept the post permanently. More than anything else, Blanchet's own inability through letters to secure any revision of the assignment of reservations must have caused the idea of an agent in Washington to become more desirable. Failure had also greeted his plan for making his name more potent through accrediting him as the official spokesman for the entire hierarchy. His appeal in this regard to the bishops of the country had elicited only twenty approbations and not a single one of the fiery protests against the government's policy which he had requested.[93] It may very well have been that the seemingly reckless zeal of this remote and elderly member of the Catholic hierarchy had frightened the more conservative of his fellow bishops. This may have been especially true in the East where the problem must have seemed very far removed.

---

92 AUND, Blanchet to Purcell, Portland, January 18, 1872. Cf., AAP, Blanchet to Delano, Portland, September 12, 1871, copy.

93 AANY, Blanchet to John McCloskey, Portland, January 24, 1872, lamented that he had "neither copies nor notices of any complaints made against the unjust distribution of assignments by bishops having Indian reservations."

In any event Blanchet, once he had proposed naming a Washington agent, pursued the idea throughout 1872, though with a multitude of false starts and grievous disappointments. De-Smet, the one he believed would be ideal, was in Europe, and while awaiting his return Blanchet summarily drafted one part-time deputy after another. Already he feared that the favorable moment had passed for impressing the government officials with the justice of the claim to missions originally established by Catholics. The opposition, as he termed it, would probably retain their holdings. Undaunted nevertheless, the archbishop alternately called upon Father Maguire, another Jesuit named Bernardine F. Wiget, and a third priest whom he had ordained himself more than twenty years before, Toussaint Mesplié.[94] The archbishop's correspondence with Mesplié is the most revealing, not only because of the latter's long, gossipy letters in the Canadian French native to both but also because the priest had been an Indian missionary himself in the territory of the archbishop.

Though Blanchet was laudatory of Maguire because of the results attributed to him—principally the assignment of the Grande Ronde to the Church—Mesplié gave an omen of Maguire's quitting the task. In February, 1872, he observed that the Jesuit was worn out and did only what was forced upon him. Wiget, on the contrary, was energetic, capable, and acquainted in official circles in Washington; but the complete unfamiliarity of both Maguire and Wiget with Indian affairs gave Mesplié an opportunity for self-praise he was not reluctant to grasp. He went so far as to write, "If I was not here to direct, they would accomplish nothing; they would be as two blind men groping about."[95] Mesplié made frequent grandiose claims about the influence he exerted, and though he had many sterling qualities as a missionary, the aged prelate in Oregon City never had enough confidence in Mesplié to suggest that he might be the agent in the capital. Nor at this time was a

---

[94] Blanchet, *op cit.*, pp. 163, 183.

[95] AAP, Mesplié to Blanchet, Washington, February 28, 1872.

layman ever mentioned as a possibility for the Washington intermediary. As far as the correspondence reveals, Mesplié was the first to suggest the idea to Blanchet the following May.[96]

Political influence was weighed as a possible weapon in the struggle for better recognition of Catholic claims, a fact which was not surprising in view of Delano's declaration at the January, 1871, meeting that all other considerations would have to give way to party advancement. DeSmet had reported that men presented for Indian agents by the religious bodies must favor the re-election of Grant, else they would not be confirmed by the Republican majority in the Senate.[97] In this election year of 1872 the pace was accelerated, and there was scarcely a letter of Mesplié's that did not contain a reference to the approaching presidential and senatorial contests. As has been mentioned before, DeSmet had stated that the man whom Archbishop Blanchet had nominated for the Umatilla Reservation had met with Oregon senatorial opposition. Mesplié unqualifiedly blamed Oregon's Senator Henry W. Corbett as a fanatical opponent and the source of trouble in Washington. For a replacement he favored ex-Senator George H. Williams, whom Grant had named to his cabinet in 1871 after he had been defeated for re-election. Apparently Mesplié saw Williams frequently and on one occasion consulted with the attorney general after having been refused his request for an interview with Secretary Delano, whom he labeled "this iniquitous Herod."[98] Eugene Casserly, the senator from California who had befriended the Blanchets the previous year, was in failing health and resigned his seat before the end of 1872.

In his discussion of election prospects and their effect upon the petitions for the assignment of reservations to Catholics Mesplié introduced a name which was to figure prominently in the development of the Catholic program under Grant's policy.

---

96 *Ibid.*, same to same, Washington, May 24, 1872.

97 *Ibid.*, DeSmet to Blanchet, St. Louis, March 11, 1871.

98 *Ibid.*, Mesplié to Blanchet, Washington, February 28 and April 22, 1872. John H. Mitchell actually was chosen senator from Oregon in 1872.

In connection with the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho the Canadian-born priest wrote Blanchet in these words:

> Mrs. Sherman and all the "big guns" in Congress are taking an interest in our just claims. Mrs. Sherman, this noble and pious lady, will one of these days, go to the President with a petition signed by all the congressmen, friends of the Administration. If that is not a success, we shall try some other means.[99]

Much more will be said of this lady who as Ellen Ewing, the daughter of a Whig senator from Ohio, had married the later Civil War general, William T. Sherman, at Blair House in Washington on May 1, 1850.[100] But the political miscalculations of Mesplié will be closed with an instance which must have destroyed all of Blanchet's confidence in his correspondent's judgment. The priest wrote in May, 1872, that he had material in his possession which would take 100,000 votes from Grant and that he intended using it if justice were not done. In characteristic overstatement he promised to remain quiet provided the action of the President was satisfactory, and in that case "give him the chance of being re-elected, if he can, although it is said Horace Greeley would be better for us."[101] The New York publisher was to need many more than 100,000 additional votes the following November, for his defeat was by a plurality of three-quarter million.

The particular subject of Blanchet's Indian efforts during most of 1872 were the agencies of Klamath and Fort Hall,

---

[99] *Ibid.*, Mesplié to Blanchet, Washington, April 5, 1872. "Big guns" is not a translation, as this expression was written in English by Mesplié.

[100] Katherine Burton, *Three Generations* (New York, 1947), p. 77. Ten years before Mrs. Sherman's "great influence with General Grant" had been mentioned by her mother (LC, Sherman Papers, Mrs. Thomas Ewing to Ellen [Mrs. W. T. Sherman], Lancaster, Ohio, July 22, 1862). However, after Grant's inauguration Mrs. Sherman said: "Neither my husband nor my Father's family belonged to the party in power and in consequence I get but few favors except from personal friends." She added that General Sherman had no influence outside of the War Department (AAB, 36A-T8, Ellen Ewing [Mrs. W. T.] Sherman to M[artin] J. Spalding, Washington, July 13, 1869).

[101] AAP, Mesplié to Blanchet, Washington, May 24, 1872.

the first in southern Oregon and the other beyond the limits of his own jurisdiction in the Territory of Idaho. In an attempt to secure a favorable decision he telegraphed the Department of the Interior late in February. The following day Mesplié, in turn, reported that Fort Hall probably would be returned to Catholic auspices at the expense of Klamath.[102] The priest had himself attended these very Indians for a decade. At this time he said that the two reserves were being balanced against each other and that one apparently would have to be sacrificed to quiet the protests of the Methodists. About five weeks later Mesplié stated that Delano was determined to give Fort Hall to that denomination, but he ascribed the decision to the personal rascality of Delano rather than to the secretary's favoring the Methodists. Mesplié's revelation was that Delano wanted to replace the Catholic agent, Montgomery R. Berry, with a friend who desired the reservation as the best place to raise his own herd of 1,500 cattle. Later in this same month Delano was delaying the decision, according to Mesplié, because Klamath was being retained as a safeguard for the friend in the event he was uanble to use Fort Hall for his cattle business and at the same time serve as agent. But another month made the former missionary highly optimistic. He assured Blanchet that Klamath had all but officially been given to the Catholics and Fort Hall would probably follow in three or four days.[103]

While the award had been altered, Mesplié wrote with restrained exultation in early June that Secretary Delano had assigned Fort Hall to the Catholics that morning and, in his opinion, similar action would be taken in regard to the Oregon reserve. Blanchet was urged to write a letter of thanks imme-

---

102 *Ibid.*, same to same, Washington, February 28, 1872. The archbishop thought that Klamath had been awarded to the Church in January, for he then wrote letters of thanks for the reassignment; *ibid.*, Blanchet to Delano, Portland, January 11, 1872, copy, and Blanchet to President Grant, Portland, January 13, 1872, copy. When the promise did not become a reality he said that it was painful to think the Secretary of the Interior had imposed upon him; *ibid.*, Blanchet to Delano, Portland, January 29, 1872, copy.

103 Mesplié to Blanchet, Washington, April 5, April 22, and May 24, 1872.

diately to the President or to the Secretary of the Interior.[104] These advices must have pleased the anxious ecclesiastic in Oregon, but still he refused to act without official confirmation. On June 20 he inquired of Father Wiget if he might rely upon the information from Meslié,[105] and nine days later he told the latter that the award of Fort Hall had been published in Pacific coast newspapers but the official documents had not been received. Wise old warrior that he was, Blanchet remarked he would thank the President and Delano "as soon as I know for sure."[106] On the same day he credited Wiget with securing Fort Hall, while dubiously expressing the hope there was no mistake in the matter. Though he was surprised that the Idaho agency had been thus assigned, in view of the powerful influence he said the Methodists possessed in official circles, attainment of one goal did not lessen his desire for the other. "But what about Klamath?" was his anxious question.[107]

The same month of June, 1872, another well-known figure entered the lists for Fort Hall in the person of Pierre DeSmet. No direct request was made to Secretary Delano, for the St. Louisan was too adept and suave to risk a definite refusal. Instead he quoted a letter he had received from George L. Woods, Governor of Uath Territory, in which that official reported a meeting in Salt Lake City with Delano himself. Woods quoted the Secretary of the Interior as saying he would like to make Major Berry, former Fort Hall agent, a superintendent of Indian affairs for Utah, and Woods thought the Catholic Church would be better satisfied with the superintendency thereby created than with the agency. DeSmet told Delano that the Governor of Utah was greatly mistaken. The Church had no such pretensions and simply wanted her missionaries to be able to remain where they had been for years in behalf of the Indians. Seemingly this was a subtle hint that restoration of

---

104 *Ibid.*, same to same, Washington, June 5, 1872.

105 ABCIM, Blanchet to Wiget, Portland, June 20, 1872.

106 Blanchet to Meslié, Portland, June 29, 1872, in Van der Donckt, "The Founders of the Church in Idaho," *op. cit.*, p. 16.

107 ABCIM, Blanchet to Wiget, Portland, June 29, 1872.

Fort Hall would be the action for which Catholics were waiting and not the creation of a new superintendency to provide for their ousted agent.[108]

But neither DeSmet's diplomacy nor Blanchet's intercessors, plus his own letters to Washington, availed anything in the end. Mesplié twice repeated in July that Fort Hall had been given to the Catholics. Yet when he asked for the official papers Delano expressed regret, saying that the Methodist-Episcopal Bishop William Logan Harris was not willing to consent to the restoration. Mesplié declared the matter had not been settled and that he would get the Idaho reservation before he left Washington, but his diffident manner betrayed his own waning hope.[109] In August a midwestern Catholic newspaper criticized the parcelling out to Protestant care of missions long tended by Father Mesplié, declaring the historic partition of Poland exceeded it in extent only and not in atrocity.[110] Blanchet bewailed that Klamath had been promised but never received, while Fort Hall had actually been given to the Catholic Church and then taken back. In early September he chided Mesplié with having been duped and advised him not to accept the post of army chaplain which he had been offered.[111]

If the archbishop conceded defeat at this moment, his hopes may have been revived temporarily when the ever-optimistic Mesplié's letter of October 2 was received. Writing from New York, the priest recounted a visit he and Father George Deshon had had with the President in Grant's resort home at Long Branch, New Jersey. A classmate of Grant's at West Point, Deshon later had joined the Catholic Church. After completing his studies for the priesthood, he had become a member of the Congregation of St. Paul the Apostle (known as the Paulists), which was founded in New York in 1858. The Indian

108 AMP, IX-DeSmetiana, B, DeSmet to Delano, St. Louis, June 19, 1872, copy.

109 AAP, Mesplié to Blanchet, Washington, July 9 and July 20, 1872.

110 *Western Watchman* (St. Louis), August 3, 1872.

111 Blanchet to Mesplié, Portland, September 9, 1872, in Van der Donckt, *op. cit.*, p. 18. Notwithstanding, Mesplié did accept the position of army chaplain.

reservation assignments had been discussed by the three men for an hour. According to Mesplié, the President understood the Catholic position and was determined to rectify every injustice the Church had suffered. However, Grant said he could not act until after the approaching presidential election. Once the voting was over, Mesplié made the familiar prediction that Fort Hall would be immediately restored. He went further and asked Blanchet to send him at once a list of the agencies desired, not only in the Northwest but in all the United States.[112] A week later Mesplié repeated that Deshon had full faith in the word of the President, and he now counseled the archbishop in any case to restrain his ire rather than to repeat the mistake he had previously made of irritating Secretary Delano with strong words. "Let us ask and pray," he suggested, "that the next government will give us a Christian administration or at least one less impious."[113] Grant overwhelmed Greeley at the polls the following month, but meanwhile apparently some one else had caught his willing ear and his promise was not fulfilled. Two days before the end of 1872 Bishop Louis Lootens, Vicar Apostolic of Idaho, was hoping that Fort Hall might still be regained.[114] But the year closed with both that reserve and Klamath in the hands of the Methodists, though the official reports stated for each that "there is neither mission nor school at this agency."[115] However it might have been attended or not attended by others, Blanchet and his aids had failed in their year-long quest.

Both the favorable decision the Secretary of the Interior had given to Mesplié and the campaign promise of Grant had therefore proved to be illusions. Notwithstanding, Blanchet had

---

112 AAP, Mesplié to Blanchet, New York, October 2, 1872. The priest also reported a visit with Horace Greeley. However, he corrected his previous opinion on the outcome of the presidential election, saying in this and his letter of October 8 that he believed Grant would win.

113 *Ibid.*, same to same, New York, October 8, 1872. As will be brought out later, Deshon and Grant had been roommates while both were attending West Point Military Academy.

114 ABCIM, Lootens to Brouillet, Granite Creek, Idaho Territory, December 29, 1872.

115 *B.I.C., 1872,* pp. 38-39.

made considerable progress during 1872 toward the establishment of permanent representation in Washington of the Church's interests. Though the path was devious and lined with the briars of disappointments, the ultimate fulfillment may have been hastened by the failure to secure the lost missions of the Northwest. The archbishop continued to bombard Washington with telegrams and letters. There never was a direct admission to that effect, and still the aging prelate probably realized that these were doing little to further his cause and may, indeed, have had the contrary effect. He confessed to Mesplié in May that the telegrams he had sent to Delano must have angered the secretary and consequently everything had been refused.[116] From Washington he learned that Maguire, his first envoy to the government, had refused to carry a demanding letter of his to Delano. Later Mesplié advised that another communication, while a good statement, might have been a little too strong. A third dispatch even Mesplié had not dared to show to the Secretary of the Interior because of the threatening terms in which it was expressed.[117] A hint of self-recrimination appeared in Blanchet's admission of mid-June that he might have gone too far in striving to retrieve the Idaho mission.[118] Despite his habit of composing many long letters, Blanchet's native language was French. This no doubt accounted for unintended awkward expressions when he wrote in English.

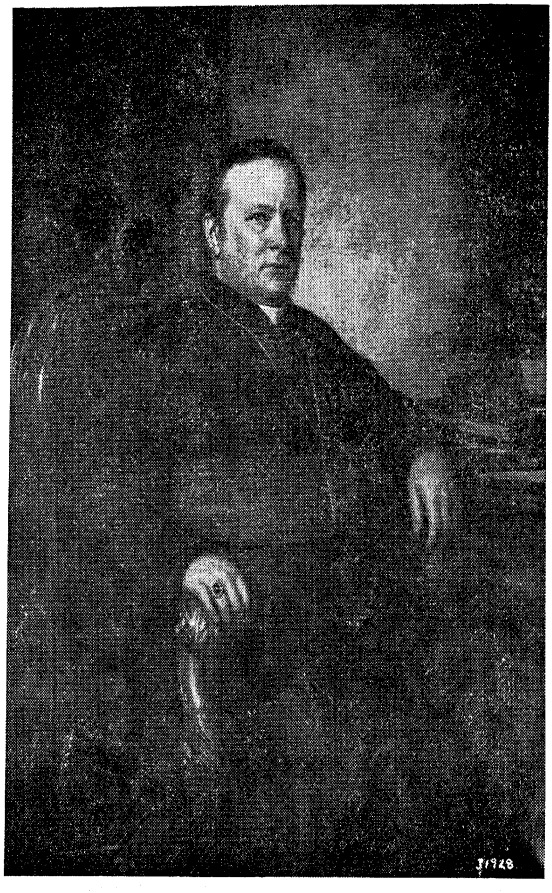
Frequently Blanchet had referred to the need for a Washington agent to promote the cause of Catholic Indian missions on government reservations. Although his suggestion to the Archbishop of Baltimore had been temporarily thwarted by the latter's death, he continued to mention, but for the time being did not push, the selection of such a man. During the first six months of 1872 he entertained the fond hope that DeSmet would accept the position, for in his opinion the Belgian-born

---

116 Blanchet to Mesplié, Portland, May 4, 1872, in Van der Donckt, *op cit.*, p. 15.

117 AAP, Mesplié to Blanchet, Washington, April 22 and May 24, 1872.

118 ABCIM, Blanchet to Wiget, Portland, June 20, 1872.



JAMES ROOSEVELT BAYLEY

Eighth Archbishop of Baltimore, 1872-1877

From the large portrait by G.P.A. Healy in the archiepiscopal residence; courtesy of Frick Art Reference Library.

missionary had the experience and the standing in official circles. While as early as May 4 he said that DeSmet, who meanwhile had returned from Europe, would not accept the appointment, that disappointing news was not accepted at once.[119]. More than six weeks later the archbishop was still persisting in the hope that DeSmet would take the office. During this period, however, he not only literally drafted Father Wiget to act as his legate but apparently told others to do so also.[120] As for DeSmet, it was no longer possible for him to think of complying, even with the evident will of all the hierarchy. Renal disease had undermined his health so that the best he could do was to work at a desk in St. Louis. His illness as well as his age and his unfamiliarity with any but the Jesuit missions all were given in the definitive resignation he sent to Secretary Delano in June.[121] Eleven months later his death brought an end to Father DeSmet's extraordinary labors for the American Indians.

No doubt to counteract the suggestion of Mesplié that a layman be engaged, Blanchet had stated positively to Bernardine Wiget that the agent desired must be a clergyman. But already he had reversed his stand in regard to the need for representation in Washington. So in this instance the passing of the summer brought the archbishop to the point of not only being willing to approve a layman, but if it were thought better, a committee of laymen. Mesplié had made the initial proposal, but in approving of a group of laymen Blanchet seemed to have drawn from the example of Protestant denominations in having boards or conferences attending to the religious and temporal affairs of the Indian agencies.[122] Notwithstanding his having been the initiator of the entire movement in behalf of

---

119 Blanchet to Mesplié, Portland, May 4, 1872, in Van der Donckt, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

120 ABCIM, Brouillet to Wiget, Walla Walla, April 9, 1872, asked the Jesuit to handle a case for him.

121 AMP, IX-DeSmetiana, B, DeSmet to Delano, St. Louis, June 19, 1872, copy. Cf. Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, III, 104-105.

122 ABCIM, Blanchet to Wiget, Portland, September 3 and 17, 1872.

the Catholic missions, Blanchet made no attempt to decide the issue himself. Frequent mention was made by him that all the bishops might decide. On the other hand, he was entirely agreeable that the selection be made by the occupant of the oldest see in the United States, that of Baltimore. James Roosevelt Bayley, Bishop of Newark, was named to the vacant archbishopric in mid-summer, and Blanchet anxiously awaited his installation that he might urge the same proposal he had made to his predecessor, namely, Washington representation.

The natural delay which ensued in Archbishop Bayley assuming charge at Baltimore, as well as the frail health of this ecclesiastic, caused some deferment of Blanchet's plan. During this interval, as has been mentioned, Father George Deshon entered the picture by seeing his former West Point roommate, Ulysses Grant, to obtain better recognition for the Catholic Church in the assignment of the Indian agencies. Even before it was recognized that the President would not fulfill his promise, another priest was introduced into the Washington scene, Jean-Baptiste Abraham Brouillet. Unlike the others he was to be a permanent participant in the affairs of the Catholic Indian missions, work for which he was well qualified by ability and experience. He had been both zealous missionary and chief lieutenant of Bishop Magloire Blanchet since he first volunteered to accompany the latter to the Northwest from his native Canada in 1847. In addition, he had already made several official trips to Washington in behalf of the Indians, as will be treated more fully later.

Again it was Mesplié who made the first suggestion, for from Washington he recommended to Archbishop Blanchet that the latter's brother should send Father Brouillet to represent the interests of the Diocese of Nesqually at the capital during the three winter months. Mesplié frankly said that the Jesuit fathers in Washington did not want to be bothered with any more requests from the Northwest, for, as he explained, they knew nothing about Indian matters and did not want to learn. Referring to the power of attorney which Francis N. Blanchet

had sent unasked to Wiget on June 20, Mesplié archly observed: "This power would have been as useful in effect if you had intrusted it to the Indian chief of the Nez Percés." The proposal about sending Brouillet was brought up again by the same writer in successive letters in mid-November.[123] Probably before either of them was delivered, the Bishop of Nesqually advised Mesplié that after mature consideration by the two Blanchets, Brouillet had been asked to go to Washington to represent both of them.[124] Brouillet accepted the commission and was also given Archbishop Blanchet's power of attorney, but without any of the parties intending that the assignment was to be permanent.[125]

On November 28, 1872, two days after Brouillet had received legal authority to act for the Blanchets while in Washington, Deshon himself notified the Archbishop of Oregon City of his willingness to handle all negotiations about Indian reservations for him and for all the bishops until a better arrangement was made.[126] In the same vein the Paulist had written to Baltimore the week before. Possibly because he did not receive an answer at once, he had next addressed Blanchet, who he knew was eagerly seeking a deputy in the capital. The Oregon prelate promptly sought to gain approval for Deshon's position by communicating with others. For instance, he requested Purcell of Cincinnati to send his authorization of the appointment to Baltimore immediately. He repeated his statement that the Archbishop of Baltimore should be the head and soul of the move, with all requests and directions being made through Bayley. In this he included not alone the authorization for Deshon but also the long-term objective of a permanent legate.[127] The silence of Bayley was explained when he

---

123 AAP, Mesplié to Blanchet, Washington, October 24, November 14 and 16, 1872.

124 A.M.A. Blanchet to Mesplié, November 18, 1872, in Van der Donckt, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

125 ABCIM, power of attorney from Francis Norbert Blanchet to J.B.A. Brouillet, Portland, November 26, 1872.

126 AAP, Deshon to F. N. Blanchet, Sandusky, Ohio, November 28, 1872.

127 AUND, Blanchet to Purcell, Portland, December 13, 1872.

wrote Deshon two days before Christmas from a sick-bed, to which he had been confined for more than a month by a severe illness. An easterner by birth and residence, Bayley admitted his unfamiliarity with the proper recognition due the Church in the allotment of Indian agencies. Because of Deshon's acquaintance with the matter he requested the priest to assume the post of Catholic representative at Washington. He added that it was his own understanding that the President was anxious to correct any mistakes by doing full justice to all.[128]

Several bishops other than the Blanchets soon gave approval to the decision of Bayley in messages to the latter archbishop and to Deshon. Having received a copy of Deshon's letter from the Archbishop of Oregon City, Bishop John B. Lamy told the Baltimore prelate of his eagerness to make use of the offer, especially since Deshon was well liked by the authorities in Washington. Lamy, a veteran of twenty-two years in his mission Diocese of Santa Fé, stressed his belief that the use of an accredited agent should be the continued practice of the Church for dealings with the government agencies.[129] With his letter to Bayley Lamy enclosed a copy of another he had written to Deshon. Therein he told the priest he would be willing to accept as representative whomsoever the priest recommended or whoever was approved by General Charles Ewing, a zealous Catholic who was an attorney in the capital. Two days later Lamy began to avail himself of the services offered by sending Deshon a petition for Catholic teachers which had been drawn up by the Pueblo chiefs of New Mexico.[130] From the Far West Joseph S. Alemany authorized the Paulist to work for the red men of the Archdiocese of San Francisco.[131] The bishop of the territory in which the Fort Hall agency was located told Brouillet that not only should Deshon be thanked

128 ABCIM, Bayley to Deshon, Baltimore, December 23, 1872.

129 *Ibid.*, Lamy to Bayley, Santa Fé, December 27, 1872.

130 *Ibid.*, Lamy to Deshon, Santa Fé, December 27 and 29, 1872.

131 *Ibid.*, Alemany to Brouillet, San Francisco, February 18, 1873, said: "Before the end of December last I wrote to Father George Deshon of the Paulists of N[ew] York commissioning him to plead in Washington for my Indians."

but Mesplié should be credited with having given a start to the actuality of an agent in Washington by having asked the Paulist to undertake the assignment for the interim.[132]

At least something tangible had resulted from the year of insistence by Francis Blanchet on the necessity of an agent. Yet that auspicious development was not enough to cheer Bayley on the last day of the year, if his letter to his friend, the Archbishop of Cincinnati, was a true indication of his feeling. Perhaps he had found time to survey the Indian situation insofar as it affected the interests of the Church. Anyway, the hopeful note sounded in his previous correspondence with Deshon was missing entirely as he told Purcell to put no reliance on obtaining justice from the administration then in Washington.[133] Inasmuch as Grant was two months and more removed from even taking the oath of office for the second term to which he had been elected, the apprehension expressed was, indeed, serious. That the fear was more than justified by the ensuing reality seems to have been the studied judgment of at least one serious observer.[134]

---

132 *Ibid.*, Lootens to Brouillet, Granite Creek, Idaho Territory, December 29, 1872.

133 AUND, Bayley to Purcell, Baltimore, December 31, 1872.

134 Priest, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.

CHAPTER III

AN OFFICIAL ORGANIZATION ACHIEVED

Two years and more of the Peace Policy in operation were enough to convince interested Catholics that intensified action was badly needed. Though more than half of the Indian agencies had been claimed on the basis of the prior success of her missionaries, eight agents actually were credited to the Church. Since these were in the official list of January 12, 1872, which gave a total of eighty agencies, the portion of one-tenth was scarcely satisfying.[1] Some adjustments had been and would thereafter be made in the assignments, such as the transfer of the Nez Percés from Catholic to Presbyterian control. Yet the over-all status had remained essentially the same in the thirty months which had elapsed since the first allotments by the Department of the Interior.[2]

Thus far Archbishop Blanchet has been used to exemplify the efforts of an individual to secure a readjustment from the Indian Bureau. The Oregon City prelate, though not unique, has been chosen because from his activity more results were discernible in the end. To this point the attempts by him and by other members of the hierarchy had been stultified by the lack of both unification and persistence. Blanchet himself had observed that a bishop would be aroused by a specific injustice, write to Washington or send emissaries, but when his plea was

---

1 *B I.C., 1871,* pp. 182-183. (Cf. "Abbreviations used in Footnotes" for explanation of symbols.) Because different sets of figures were used and some reserves classified as agencies or again as sub-agencies, an exact numerical computation is subject to exceptions or explanations.

2 *Ibid., 1873* (Washington, 1874), p. 245. This report persisted in the mistake of the one of 1872 in crediting the Fort Hall, Idaho Territory, Reserve to the Catholic Church. The ill success of the effort to secure that agency has been related. In the *Catholic Sentinel* (Portland, Oregon) of May 10, 1873, an account was printed of the disorderly conduct there of the Boise Indians because the agent, Henry W. Reed, a Methodist, prevented a "black robe" from visiting them.

disregarded, he would abandon the struggle. The same method (or rather lack of system) would in turn be followed by another ecclesiastic.[3] Father George Deshon had supplied a temporary avenue of approach to the departments of the federal government. But while the Paulist was capable, energetic, and well acquainted in the capital, care of Indians either in the missions or through intercession in Washington was not the field of endeavor of the religious congregation to which he belonged. Another was needed to replace him.

Deshon had said plainly that he did not want to attend the meeting in Washington of the Board of Indian Commissioners with the representatives of the religious societies. Nevertheless, the rosy expectations which he and Mesplié had entertained of its results were enough to guarantee his presence. The reasons for these hopes were communicated to Archbishop Blanchet in November by both of these priests. The voluble French-Canadian wrote the Saturday after the presidential election to report that Deshon already had come to Washington to follow up the promise which Grant had made to him in their previous talk at Long Branch.[4] A few days later the Paulist recalled that Mrs. Grant had warmly taken the part of the Catholic missions, she having been present during the hour-long visit of the two priests with her husband.[5] In this month of November Deshon had talked with the President twice, the second time in the company of the Secretary of the Interior, as Grant had sent for Delano in order to introduce him to his West Point classmate. In the joint session the cabinet official had promised that the Indian agency assignments would be readjusted during the meeting with the representatives of the religious societies the following January. Delano planned using as a principle that the denomination which had first established

---

[3] AAP, Blanchet to B. J. Wiget, S.J., Portland, September 17, 1872, copy.

[4] *Ibid.*, Mesplié to Blanchet, Washington, November 23, 1872. The meeting of Mesplié and Deshon with Grant had been reported by the former in a letter to Blanchet from New York, October 2, 1872.

[5] AAB, 43-M-15, Deshon to Blanchet, Sandusky, Ohio, November 28, 1872.

itself with a tribe and had acquired a foothold should have the preference.

Since this basis had been the contention of Catholics from the time of inauguration of the Peace Policy, Deshon must have felt fully justified in expecting that a great deal if not everything to which the Church was entitled would be obtained. Mesplié added that a Catholic would be named to the Board of Indian Commissioners and perhaps two of that faith would be placed in the superintendencies. According to his computation, the Church would have a total of twenty-nine Indian agencies in its care after Delano had made the readjustment. In a general request Deshon had asked Blanchet for full information about the Catholic Indian missions to guide him at the January meeting, but Mesplié was much more explicit. He enumerated every member of the hierarchy from Washington Territory to New Mexico by name, and urged that each one of these—and any others that had business with the Indian Department—send documented summaries of the situation within their territories. His conclusion was as roseate as Deshon's: "We will have all the agencies in which the Indians are Catholic."

Both of the priests had mentioned that Charles Ewing, a Washington attorney of whom they spoke in glowing terms, would attend the January conference with Deshon. Whether Ewing did so cannot be determined, for his name was not given among those present at the Arlington House in Washington on January 15. However, he could very well have been included in the clause with which the roster was concluded: "and many other friends of the Indians."[6] Ewing was of a distinguished Ohio family. His late father had been Thomas Ewing, United States Senator and a member of the presidential cabinets of both William Henry Harrison and Zachary Taylor. During the War between the States Charles Ewing had served in six

[6] *Journal of the Second Annual Conference of the Board of Indian Commissioners with the Representatives of the Religious Societies Co-operating with the Government* (Washington, 1872), p. 3. Though mentioned in the minutes of the meeting, no copy of the *Journal* was found in the archives of the Board of Indian Commissioners. The copy consulted is in the Library of Congress.

major campaigns and attained the rank of general. When he was assigned to Dakota Territory in 1868 Ewing had resigned his commission and resumed the practice of law.

In this single instance the Board of Indian Commissioners did not enter the report of the joint conference in the annual report, but as an indication of its importance, printed a journal of the day-long meeting in a separate book. As far as the promises of the President and the Secretary of the Interior to Deshon were concerned, the journal was a complete blank. Lengthy discussions were reported verbatim, but the question of reassigning the agencies was not even brought up. In fact, very little time was given to religion in the talks, most of the speakers concerning themselves with the civil and political rights of the red men. However, no objection was made to the Reverend Jay L. Backus setting forth the principle for the Indians of "root hog or die."[7] On the following day the Board of Indian Commissioners recommended that Benjamin Rush Cowen, assistant to Delano, be named the successor of Francis A. Walker as Commissioner of Indian Affairs.[8] That appointment would have met with Ewing's approval because Cowen and he had been friends in Ohio and later in the Union army. But as with the promises of Grant, this expectation never materialized. Eventually the post was awarded to Edward P. Smith, who represented the American Missionary Association (Congregationalist) during the January 15 conference. After the Washington meeting had such an unhappy termination for Catholic expectations, the need for forceful representation before the government was clearly apparent. Who took the first decisive steps to bring it about?

The Archbishop of Baltimore, James Roosevelt Bayley, was the one to whom the interested bishops seemed willing to leave

---

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 57. Backus was secretary of the American Baptist Home Missionary Association. Later Deshon told the President: ". . .they refused to take up my matter in the Conference"; ABCIM, Deshon to Grant, New York, May 13, 1873, copy written by Deshon.

[8] RBIA, Minutes of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners, p. 78.

the choice. But however well intended the archbishop was, his unfamiliarity with the entire situation rendered him dependent upon the assistance of others who were more conversant with the problems.[9] That initiative seems to have been supplied by two priests who were already prominent for their interest in the welfare of the red men, Fathers Brouillet and Deshon. In fact, it appears that Brouillet had made some preliminary moves for the establishment of an office to handle episcopal business connected with Indians as long as eight years before.[10] During the third week of January, 1873, Brouillet and Deshon wrote to several western bishops who had Indians within their dioceses. Their opinion was solicited in regard to a general agent being appointed to attend to the affairs of the Catholic missions and to contact the officials of the Department of the Interior and of the Board of Indian Commissioners. The actual number of bishops to whom a joint letter was addressed cannot be determined because at that time no files of correspondence were maintained by these priests. The replies which are on hand were favorable, and also concurred in leaving the selection of the Washington representative to the Archbishop of Baltimore, a suggestion which may have been included in the proposal by the priests.[11]

The authority vested in him to act in their names was not formally used by Bayley for another two months. In the mean-

---

9 ABCIM, Bayley to Deshon, Baltimore, December 23, 1872. In a memorandum of January 12, 1872, Bayley noted: "I have written a large number of letters during the last two months of which I have made no mention—to Archb. of Cincinnati & other Bishops in regard to Indian affairs—to Father Deshon to whom the matter has been committed: F. Deshon was a classmate & roommate to Genl. Grant at West Point and thro' his influence we may be able to get some justice, tho' I have my fear about it"; AAB, 43-N-1.

10 AAS, A.M.A. Blanchet to J.B.A. Brouillet, Vancouver, Washington Territory, January 2, 1865, copy, reprimanded the priest who was in Washington, D. C., for spending time on a project which the bishop had not approved.

11 ABCIM, Bishop James M. O'Gorman, O.C.S.O., to Brouillet and Deshon, Omaha, Nebraska, January 23, 1873, was one of the half-dozen answers. AAO, Bishop James O'Connor to the Congregation of the Propaganda, Omaha, September 22, 1880, copy, advised that O'Gorman, his predecessor, had retained no correspondence. This fact has been borne out by the writer's own search in the archives of the Archdiocese of Omaha.

time, however, he must have indicated his favorable consideration to the man who was ultimately appointed, General Charles Ewing. Archbishop Blanchet's disapproval of the idea had kept Mesplié from revealing whether Ewing was the honest and capable gentleman he described in making the initial proposal, in May, 1872, that a layman handle Catholic Indian business in Washington for all concerned.[12] The name of this veteran of six major campaigns of the War Between the States certainly had been mentioned by several correspondents late the previous year, but then as a person whose advice should be sought rather than as the representative himself.[13] Yet Ewing, as an attorney practicing in the capital, must have commenced working for the Catholic missionaries shortly after January 1, 1873. As early as January 14 Robert C. Walker, a brother-in-law of James G. Blaine of Maine, wrote to ask his intervention for a Jesuit who had been working in Montana.[14] Inasmuch as Walker requested that the matter be brought to the attention of the President in the manner which Ewing judged best, it would be reasonable to assume that the lawyer was willing to act and was familiar with the situation.

Several years later a report of the treasurer of the Catholic Indian Mission Fund contained the statement that the services of General Ewing were secured to defend Catholic interests early in that month of January. Again, a pamphlet published in 1884 related that Archbishop Bayley had made the appointment at the instance of Fathers Deshon, Maguire, Brouillet, and Leopold Van Gorp, all of whom were concerned with the affairs of the Indians. Lastly, in an address made in St. Louis in 1877 Brouillet declared that the organized activity in the In-

---

12 AAP, Mesplié to Blanchet, Washington, D. C., May 24, 1872. In any case, Mesplié was the first to mention Ewing by name for the post, he having written to Blanchet late in November that Deshon thought the general was the man to be appointed permanent agent for the bishops of the United States; *ibid.*, same to same, November 23, 1872.

13 ABCIM, John B. Lamy to Deshon, Santa Fé, New Mexico, December 27, 1872, was one example of such letters.

14 EC, Walker to Ewing, Helena, Montana Territory, January 14, 1873.

dian affairs field was under way shortly after the first of the year, 1873.[15]

Father Brouillet had then co-operated in drawing Ewing from his legal work on Indian claims to act as representative in Washington of all Catholic Indian interests. Soon this priest was participating in the negotiations with the federal government with the same energy and concern for the redskin's spiritual advancement as he had displayed during twenty-five years as a missionary in the Northwest. His experience both in the field and in previous visits to Washington had given him a familiarity with all phases of the Indian questions which probably no other Catholic cleric of the time possessed.[16] His own bishop credited him with a major part in bringing to realization the long-delayed dream of an agent in the capital. A.M.A. Blanchet later asserted that it was partly for this purpose that he and his brother, the Archbishop of Oregon City, had sent Brouillet to Washington late in 1872.[17] The foresight of the Canadian-born priest in discerning the proper solution for Indian problems was demonstrated by his attempt to promote a Washington representative for Catholic interests as early as 1864. The first government school for Indian children under religious auspices has been correctly designated as that conducted by Father Eugene C. Chirouse, O.M.I., at the Tulalip agency in 1869. Not only was Brouillet the proposer of this national innovation in Indian education in Washington Territory, but records reveal that two years before (in 1867)

---

15 *Ibid., Report to the Treasurer, December 1, 1876; The Work of the Decade,* pamphlet report of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions (n.p., n.d. [1884]), p. 3. DeSmet brought Van Gorp from Belgium to St. Louis in 1853, where he joined the Jesuits; Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States,* I, 653. ABCIM, original draft of Brouillet's lecture delivered before Ladies' Catholic Indian Missionary Association of St. Louis, May 22, 1877.

16 *Freeman's Journal,* February 16, 1884.

17 AAS, Blanchet to Editor, *Catholic Sentinel,* Vancouver, October 18, 1879.

he had entered into contracts with the government for schools of the same type for reservations in Oregon and Idaho.[18]

Before the actual appointment of Ewing as official intermediary between the hierarchy and the federal officials in Washington calls upon his services and those of Brouillet began to come from the missionary field. Joseph Giorda, S.J., who held the office of superintendent of Jesuit missions in the Rocky Mountains, was one of the first to ask Ewing to act for him, and he gave high praise to the former Union general for undertaking the task.[19] That all were not aware of Ewing's position was indicated by the Archbishop of San Francisco suggesting to Brouillet late in February that he would do well to enlist the assistance of the general and of his sister and brother-in-law, General and Mrs. William T. Sherman, the former Ellen Ewing.[20]

Publicized or not, the Washington attorney was not awaiting an official designation to embark upon his office. In mid-February he filed two petitions which were to be the subject of prolonged controversy in the years to come. In them the acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs was petitioned for authority to construct a church and auxiliary buildings on the Yakima Reservation, Washington Territory, and also on that of the Nez Percés in Idaho.[21] Apparently other business not so readily a matter of permanent record was being conducted. For instance, Martin Maginnis, the newly elected territorial representative from Montana, was asked to see both Brouillet and Ewing about a school at Stevensville, Montana, in which Sisters of Charity had been teaching Indian girls for many years.

---

18 ABCIM, William H. Ketcham, original draft of lecture on "Our Catholic Indian Missions," which was delivered in Chicago, Illinois, on November 16, 1908. *Ibid.*, Brouillet to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., August 30 and September 2, 1873, asking for fulfillment of contracts signed in 1867. A committee which investigated Oregon, Washington, and California reservations reported of Tulalip: "The most successful feature of the reservation is the school"; *B.I.C., 1871,* p. 112.

19 *Ibid.*, Giorda to Ewing, Helena, Montana Territory, February 5, 1873.

20 *Ibid.*, Joseph S. Alemany to Brouillet, San Francisco, February 18, 1873.

21 *Ibid.*, Ewing to H[enry] R. Clum, Washington, February 14, 1873.

In another field Brouillet was reminded of Deshon's long friendship with the President by a Jesuit at St. Louis University, who suggested the name of a friend for a group of supervisors which rumor had reported were soon to be appointed by the government.[22]

All this and much more was being done as, perhaps, a trial before the definitive appointment was made. Deshon must be credited with presenting Ewing's name to Archbishop Bayley through a letter he wrote on February 20 to his own superior in the Paulists, Isaac Hecker. Deshon, a trifle sanguine about the promises he had received from Grant, was actually describing his own character in stating that Ewing was just the man for the Indian missions because the general was industrious, hopeful, and agreeable. He asked Hecker to speak to Bayley about the man and to request that he be appointed the agent of all the Catholic bishops who had authorized the Baltimore archbishop to act in their name. Deshon was not reneging upon the offer he had made to Blanchet the previous fall. But as he reminded Hecker, he was known to comparatively few of the hierarchy who naturally would prefer to work through Archbishop Bayley. Deshon mentioned that the Secretary of the Interior had promised a general overhauling of the Indian department, and he thought Catholic affairs were certain to improve thereby.[23] About a month later Bayley wrote to Father Brouillet, as Deshon had suggested, saying that Hecker had given him the letter of his fellow Paulist. In accord with that recommendation the archbishop gladly appointed General Ewing the Catholic commisioner before the federal government, and the Secretary of the Interior in particular. As most if not all of the bishops who had Indian missions under their jurisdiction had requested him to name such an agent, Bayley stated that he was acting by virtue of that authority. He mirrored the hopeful tone of Deshon in anticipating that the In-

---

[22] *Ibid.*, Giorda to Maginnis, Helena, Montana Territory, February 24, 1873; Van Gorp to Brouillet, St. Louis, February 18, 1873.

[23] AAB, 41-K-16, Deshon to Father [Isaac Hecker], Washington, February 20, 1873.

dians and the United States would benefit from the bestowal of simple justice, all that Catholics asked.[24]

Thus Bayley's letter of March 17 invested Ewing with full authority to represent Catholic interests regarding the Indians before the government. The archbishop had mentioned that he would be glad to draw up a more formal document were it needed, but that was not done until several months later when Ewing was given a letter to show to the Secretary of the Interior.[25] That the appointment was not made known at once to all the Catholic clergy in the West may be inferred from appeals later directed to others, asking their intervention or help. DeSmet in the last months of his life mentioned the activity of Deshon but never spoke of Ewing as the representative of the hierarchy.[26] While Bishop Blanchet certainly was acquainted with the status authorized for the general, he continued to address others about the missions of his diocese and ask their assistance.[27] Although in Ewing's appointment Francis Blanchet's desire for a Washington agent was realized, the Oregon prelate persisted in his original avenue of direct communication with the federal departments.[28] His letters might be regarded as supplements to the services of Ewing and those of Brouillet, for he and his brother Magloire considered this priest their personal emissary in the capital.

Two days before his appointment was officially approved by the Archbishop of Baltimore Ewing made the first move in a campaign which was to be typical of the methods he employed. To the Bishop of St. Paul he sent word that the Chippewa agency in northern Minnesota had become vacant by the selec-

---

24 ABCIM, Bayley to Brouillet, St. Augustine, Florida, March 17, 1873. Bayley had gone to St. Augustine for his health; he started back to Baltimore on March 26. Cf. Sister M. Hildegarde Yeager, C.S.C., *The Life of James Roosevelt Bayley, First Bishop of Newark and Eighth Archbishop of Baltimore, 1814-1877* (Washington, 1947), pp. 355-356.

25 EC, Bayley to Ewing, Baltimore, May 28, 1873.

26 AMP, DeSmet Letters, IX, D-16, DeSmet to Archbishop Blanchet, St. Louis, February 4, 1873, copy.

27 AAS, Blanchet to Deshon, Vancouver, April 9, 1873, copy.

28 ABCIM, Blanchet to Felix R. Brunot, Portland, March 19, 1873, copy.

tion of its agent, Edward P. Smith, as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Since he understood that most of the tribe were Catholics, Ewing asked for full information about the true status in order that prompt application for the agency might be made to the Department of the Interior.[29] The bishop, Thomas L. Grace, at once replied that the Indians and also the half-breeds were mostly members of the Church, and he considered it not only desirable but very necessary that they be in the care of a Catholic agent. Grace added that for fourteen years he had been begging Washington for such action without any response to his pleas. The bishop was so anxious for success in this instance that he omitted all reference to Ewing undertaking the work for him and the other bishops of the country. Two days later he rushed his profuse thanks for the effort.[30]

---

[29] *Ibid.*, Ewing to Bishop [Thomas L.] Grace, Washington, March 15, 1873, copy. Edward P. Smith was a Congregationalist minister who had represented the American Missionary Association at the January meeting in Washington; *Journal of the Second Annual Conference*, etc., p. 3. In an editorial entitled, "Indians Robbed by the Wholesale and Left Starving," St. Paul *Dispatch* (September 18, 1873) charged that as agent of the Chippewas he had entered into a contract on November 8, 1872, with Amherst H. Wilder of Minnesota for the sale of timber on the Leech Lake Reservation. According to its terms Wilder could take all the pine and cedar timber on the land for a period of ten years, paying for only the very largest trees. Moreover, the paper said that since he had become commissioner Smith had given Wilder contracts for transportation on the Missouri River, and for supplying beef cattle to the Sisseton and Devil's Lake Indians, all of which were labeled as fraudulent. Meanwhile, the paper said, the Chippewas, who had owned the timber, were starving in the cold along the shores of Lake Superior. The Minneapolis *Daily Tribune* of October 1, 1873, in an article entitled "Smith as a Shah," reported the same facts and added that when the Indians learned of the contract the Indian agent had to call in United States troops to quiet them.

[30] *Ibid.*, Grace to Ewing, St. Paul, March 22 and March 24, 1873. A detailed report of the Catholic missionary work of two decades before among these tribesmen may be seen in RBIA, L.R., Schools C 701, Francis Pierz to Bishop Joseph Cretin, Crow Wing, Minnesota Territory, January 25, 1854. Later the same year the territorial governor warmly commended the work of Father Pierz, saying that as a result "a great majority of the half-breeds and some Indians belong to his church"; RBIA, L.R., Minn. Miscel. x, Willias A. Gorman to George W. Manypenny, n.p., September 30, 1854. In the same period after twenty years of effort the Methodists claimed only about five Indian converts a year; John H. Pitezel, *Lights and Shades of Missionary Life* (Cincinnati, 1859), p. 373. Of the Indian missions in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, William E. Strong, the official Protestant historian, admitted in *The Story of the American Board* (Boston, 1910), p. 47: "Though the work in these new fields was bravely begun. . .it became more and more clear that little was being accomplished."

With his formal petition for the Chippewa Agency Ewing sent a lengthy statement of the reasons upon which the request was founded. Though the attorney was to file many other petitions later, this one deserves examination not only because it was the first but also because most of the others followed its pattern. The document commenced with a review of the history of missionary work among these Indians who lived along the shore of Lake Superior. The non-Catholic historian, George Bancroft, was the authority cited for the statement that the first mission of the Catholic Church among these tribesmen was likewise the oldest settlement of Europeans within the boundaries of the present State of Michigan. Ewing next referred to official reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, whose superior officer was the Secretary of the Interior. In the 1868 publication Father John Chebal was praised for his great energy and deep interest in both the temporal and spiritual welfare of these red men. The same report mentioned that the Protestant missionary had abandoned his station among the Chippewas. Much the same was contained in the report for 1869, Chebal again being commended for his untiring labors, while regret was expressed that the Protestants had no missionary. From the official government papers Ewing took the declaration of 1870 that ninety-nine out of a hundred Chippewas were Catholics. There was no change the following year, for again the priest in charge was singled out for laudatory remarks, and the good accomplished thereby was part of the departmental record. From the government reports Ewing turned to the statement of the Bishop of St. Paul that a Catholic priest had been assigned to the Chippewas exclusively and continuously since 1830. The facts from these various sources were the basis for Ewing asking that these Indians be assigned to Catholics as both the oldest and the only successful missionaries among them.[31]

---

[31] *Ibid.*, original draft of memorandum drawn by Ewing and copy of his letter to Columbus Delano, Washington, D. C., March 19, 1873. All of the correspondence and papers were printed in a pamphlet, *Petition of the Catholic Church for the Agency of the Chippewas of Lake Superior* (Washington, 1873).

A little over a week later Secretary Delano declined to comply with the request. For his own part he merely stated that he concurred with the chairman of the Board of Indian Commissioners in opposing the transfer to the Catholic Church. Delano said that the foundation for the rejection was a letter written by Felix R. Brunot, the chairman who has been credited with suppressing in his official actions a personal anti-Catholic feeling.[32] This Pittsburgh philanthropist began by expressing regret that the official agents of the Catholic Church persisted in misconstruing the Indian policy of Grant. He contended that the President intended the welfare of the Indians primarily, which it was hoped could be achieved through the co-operation of the religious societies. As a refutation of Ewing's historical argument, Brunot went back to 1866 to quote the agent among the Chippewas as saying then that the Protestant missionary had opposed granting the right of coming on the reservation which the Catholics had been asking for the preceding five years. He asserted that the government's policy had been to allow one denomination to have the field and exclude all others. Having cited that report, the board chairman maintained that the present rather than the past should be the determining factor. Since the actual holder of the agency had not abused its trust, he was against transferring control of the reservation to the Catholic Church.[33]

Before his formal reply was made Ewing hastily drew up a memorandum in regard to the 1866 statement by the Chippewa Indian agent which Brunot had employed as undermining all the historical data the general had assembled. In this supple-

---

[32] *Ibid.*, Delano to Ewing, Washington, D. C., March 28, 1873. Cf., Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren*, p. 50.

[33] *Ibid.*, Brunot to Delano, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, March 25, 1873; a copy of this letter was sent to Ewing by Delano. A memorandum in the handwriting of Brunot in the files of the Board of Indian Commissioners read: "One of the Christian bodies has 'claimed' as its 'right' the control of a number of reservations which had already been allotted to others. It should be understood that no 'rights' enter into the question except those of the Government and of the Indians. . . . I am in doubt about this so use your own judgment"; RBIC, L.R., July, 1871, to January, 1872, unsigned and unaddressed, n.d. and n.p.

ment the entire report of August 6, 1866, was reproduced, thereby revealing that Brunot had quoted correctly but far from in full. Agent Luther E. Webb had, indeed, said that he realized the government policy had been to restrict missionary endeavors on a reservation to one denomination. Notwithstanding, in view of the highly salutary results which the Catholic priest had brought about, he recommended strongly that an affirmative answer be given to the petition of the Indians for the erection of a Catholic church. Because Brunot had emphasized that the welfare of the Indian was the paramount consideration of the Peace Policy the exact words of Webb are important. The Chippewa agent had written that he was compelled to assent to the Indians' request because, as he said, "I am satisfied that the best interests of the Indians would be subserved by encouraging the labors of the Catholic Missionary among them."[34]

With the rejoinder given above Ewing was content to let his historical summation stand. But in his formal reply to Secretary Delano he answered Brunot by quoting the 1870 statement of Grant about the program of assigning agencies to the care of religious denominations. The Washington attorney recalled that the President had made priority of missionary work and its success the basis of allotment, and in that Ewing was in perfect agreement with the board chairman that the welfare of the Indian was the primary consideration. Ewing then contended that Grant had committed himself and bound his subordinates to the appointment of agents on the basis of these two principles. The President's unqualified assertion, as the general saw its meaning, was not a promise to bestow federal patronage and influence on churches which were ready to commence Indian work under the program. Nor was it Grant's intention to succor those who had tried in the past but unfortunately failed, but rather to give the agencies to the religions which had succeeded in years past in the evangelization of the Indians. Therein Ewing believed that the President had the

[34] *Petition of the Catholic Church for the Agency of the Chippewas*, pp. 10-11.

good of the red men in mind. Following the principle set forth would not be for the benefit of any particular church.

Ewing warned that the christianization of the redskins could not succeed were the missionaries who were known and respected pushed aside, and unknown and unproved substitutes put in their place. Relative to the statement of Brunot that no complaint had been made of the administration of the reservation and, therefore, no change should be made, the Catholic representative replied that as far as he knew the employees in the Indian service when the Peace Policy was formulated were not bad. Nevertheless, some 900 of them had been subject to replacement when the religious societies took charge. This controverted Brunot's point that only in the case of abuses or complaints should the existing status be altered.[35]

The map which Vincent Colyer had attached to the recommendations about assignments given to Secretary Cox in August, 1870, was the subject of several pages of comment by Ewing. The secretary of the board had said that he had suggested allotment of agencies in accord with the missionary work which was then in progress, insofar as he was acquainted with it. The 1870 report of the Indian commissioners had reproduced this letter of Colyer. The same publication had noted the reassignment of the Nez Percés to the Presbyterians and of the Umatillas to the Catholics because of more correct information that the original designations had not been according to the successful missions in operation on the reservations. Once these mistakes had been rectified, Ewing pointed out that a precedent had been set which could be followed for the Chippewas, who on Colyer's map had been alloted without reference to priority of care nor its past success.[36] Brunot had seen the absence of trouble among the Chippewas as reason for

[35] ABCIM, Ewing to Delano, Washington, April 10, 1873, copy.

[36] LC, Second Annual Report, Board of Indian Commissioners, *Executive Document No. 30,* Senate, 41st Congress; 3rd Session, February 10, 1871, p. 98. In his letter to Cox, Colyer wrote: "In Northern Minnesota the Chippewas, if not already provided for, might be recommended to the able supervision of the Unitarians." He cited not past attention nor any other reason. Cf. *B.I.C., 1870,* p. 5.

refusing to change the assignment. Ewing on the contrary regarded the report of the agent as having covered the public business alone and having no reference to the mission work. In conclusion Ewing again called attention to the long history of successful ministrations by Catholics among the Chippewas, which was precisely what Grant had set as the principle for assigning a reservation to a particular religious denomination.[37]

In writing to Bishop Michael Heiss of La Crosse, Wisconsin, several weeks later Ewing stated that his petition for the agency of the Chippewas of Lake Superior was his first work as Catholic commissioner.[38] Not only was it the initial undertaking of the attorney but it also was probably his best single effort as a written plea. In form and language the petition bore a close resemblance to a lawyer's brief, but unfortunately for its success in moving the Secretary, Delano had made his position clear at the January conference of 1871. Then he had warned the representatives of the missionary societies that they must not complain at intervention in the program for political considerations, and the interpretation of both intervention and its advisability rested with him.[39] Before this petition for the Chippewa agency had been rejected, the acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs had notified Ewing that the application he had made in February in the name of Bishop Lootens for authority to build a Catholic church on the Nez Percé reserve in Idaho had been referred to Delano, who had not deemed it advisable. The request for a similar permission at the Yakima Reservation in Washington Territory was not refused at that time, Clum saying that the petition was still under advisement.[40] Meanwhile a western Catholic publication scored the administration for having given only seven of the Indian agen-

[37] Grant's words were contained in his second annual message to Congress, on December 5, 1870, and read: "I determined to give all the agencies to such religious denominations as hitherto established missionaries among the Indians." Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents,* IX, 4063-4064.

[38] ABCIM, Ewing to Heiss, Washington, May 19, 1873, copy.

[39] *B.I.C., 1870,* p. 112.

[40] ABCIM, H. R. Clum to Ewing, Washington, March 22, 1873.

cies to the Catholic Church. At the same time it offered salutary advice in urging the agents and all the employees of that small number of reservations to be truly apostolic in their work for the Indians.[41]

While his petition had not been finally rejected, it must have been evident to Ewing that the Secretary of the Interior was opposed to granting the Chippewa Agency to the Catholic Church. The spirit of politics was much in the air at this time. As an example, on the final day of its existence, March 3, 1873, the Forty-Second Congress had passed the notorious "salary grab" bill which provided for retroactive increases for the members voting. Ewing attempted to counteract the partisan influences at work against him by calling upon Father Deshon to intercede with the President. The priest, who had stood second in the class at West Point of which Grant was a member, had received glowing promises not only before the 1872 election but from both Grant and Delano after the results had been known.[42] It was less than a week after Ewing had replied to the initial rejection by Delano and Brunot of his Chippewa petition that he wrote to Deshon. The Paulist had left Washington in Grant's company a few minutes before the printer delivered the pamphlet of the correspondence relative to the assignment of the Chippewa Indians. Ewing sent this and other documents pertaining to the case to Deshon with permission to show them to the President or not, according to his judgment.[43] A month later Deshon reported that Grant had told him that day that he desired a readjustment of the assignments and promised to review any case in which the decision of the Department of the Interior had seemed unjust. Acting upon this assurance the Paulist asked Ewing to take the Chippewa petition to the President in Washington. While the general was getting the decision of the chief executive in regard to the Lake

41 "Catholic Indian Agencies," *Catholic Sentinel* (Portland, Oregon), March 15, 1873. Cf. n. 1 *supra*, stating that different methods of computing accounted for slight variations in the number of reservations assigned.

42 AAB, 43-M-15, Deshon to F. N. Blanchet, Sandusky, Ohio, November 28, 1872, related three different interviews.

43 ABCIM, Ewing to Deshon [Washington, D. C.], April 15, 1873.

Superior agency, Deshon proposed that he ask Grant to issue instructions to his cabinet officer about the procedure in future instances of this kind.[44]

Deshon wrote a second time to Ewing on May 16. As far as his own letter was concerned, it contained much the same as the other save the observation that Deshon suspected underhand methods had been employed in the Department of the Interior of which the President was ignorant.[45] But with the second note Deshon sent a copy of a communication addressed three days before to "My old friend and classmate." Quite frankly the priest told the President that all of his hopes in the Indian matter rested entirely on him, for Delano and Brunot had both laid down the principle of abiding by the existing arrangement. He reminded Grant of the promises made to him the previous November and the failure of the secretary to carry out the readjustment at the January conference of the religious bodies. The President had directed him to lay the matter before B. R. Cowen, then expected to be the next Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and to await the adjournment of Congress. Deshon recalled that he had made four journeys to Washington for interviews with Delano, and that he could not understand why he was invited by the secretary if the latter intended to abide by his fiat: "the present arrangement is not to be disturbed." Deshon remarked that he no longer had any hope of favorable action from the Interior officials, who would not concede anything unless obliged to by Grant himself.

The Paulist recounted that he had written to many of the bishops who had Indians under their care to beg them to be patient until the President had fulfilled his promise. His past faith and his belief at that moment were expressed in these words:

> You would rather tell me frankly to dismiss all hopes in the matter, if you meant to do nothing, rather than allow me to waste my time and worry myself with much anxiety

---

44 *Ibid.*, Deshon to Ewing, New York, New York, May 16, 1873.

45 *Ibid.*, same to same, New York, May 16, 1873.

and trouble, and finally be discredited as a credulous enthusiast, who expected much and realized nothing.

The letter was amazingly outspoken and may be explained solely as having been written to an intimate friend rather than having been a petition for redress to the chief executive of the nation. Deshon reported that in his interview three days later at the Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York the President had promised "to act at once. He said distinctly that he wanted a readjustment of the agencies."[46]

Ewing later explained that he had been very well received when he went to the President as Deshon had requested, but nothing had been done then because of the absence of Delano from Washington. Grant had taken the Chippewa petition from Ewing and placed it with the papers which Deshon previously had given to him, promising that he would take up the case as soon as the Secretary of the Interior returned. That the general had felt the prospects were hopeful may be inferred from his concluding remarks, when he said: "We will have a jolly big row over the Chippewas, I expect."[47] Ewing was more determined than ever in advising Grant's friend a week later that the Chippewa case had been called to Delano's attention, and the latter had referred the matter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Writing as one ex-soldier to another, Ewing said that he was satisfactory for the skirmish line, but in the hand-to-hand conflict he wanted Deshon to lead the fight.[48]

---

[46] *Ibid.*, Deshon to Grant, New York, May 13, 1873, copy in Deshon's handwriting. The statement about Grant's promise was in Deshon's letter to Ewing; cf. n. 45 *supra*.

[47] *Ibid.*, Ewing to Deshon, Washington, May 20, 1873. *Ibid.*, copy of unaddressed, unsigned note in Ewing's handwriting, n.d., n.p., presumably left by him with the President during his interview: "Please direct as follows: That you want a reconstruction of the Indian Agencies, assigning the Agencies to the various Christian Churches under the following rules:

1st, Each church to have the agency for the Indians among whom it had a mission at the inauguration of your policy, & other churches had not.

2nd, When it is shown that a church had the oldest & most successful missions within an agency, such church is to have the agent.

3rd, When it is requested by the representative of any church, the question of an assignment will be sent to the President."

[48] *Ibid.*, same to same, Washington, May 27, 1873.

It would seem that Ewing's position as the representative of Catholic interests should have been sufficiently established by that time. Nevertheless, on May 28 Archbishop Bayley sent him a formal letter of appointment as Catholic Commissioner for Indian Missions, that he might present it to the Secretary of the Interior, which the general did the very next day.[49] But the final result of all the negotiations was rejection of the Catholic petition for the Chippewa agency. That it was not so assigned may be ascertained from the records,[50] but the refusal may have been somewhat in the nature of a compromise. On June 3 Ewing had another personal interview with Delano, who told him that while he could not give the agency to the Catholic Church, he did not want to go on record with an official reply to the Catholic commissioner. However, he must have offered to discuss the matter further, for Ewing maintained that it was imperative that Deshon should be in the capital two days later.[51]

Because the two allies were both present at the conference with the Secretary of the Interior there was no necessity of one reporting to the other. Much of what happened was contained, however, in a letter which Ewing dispatched immediately to fourteen bishops who were anxious over the Indians in their dioceses. Despite Deshon having told Grant that he feared being labeled a "credulous enthusiast," in the interview of June 5 both he and Ewing were satisfied with a fresh promise by Delano. The Washington attorney advised the bishops that the cabinet member had explained he could not do full justice without offending and probably alienating some of the Protestant denominations, who had entered a new field of labor. Because of the large number of votes which would be thereby lost, Ewing continued, Delano could not consign to the Catholics all of the reservations to which they were entitled. However, control shortly would be given to the more important re-

---

49 EC, Bayley to Ewing, Baltimore, May 28, 1873; ABCIM, Ewing to Delano, Washington, May 29, 1873, copy.

50 *B.I.C., 1873,* p. 245.

51 ABCIM, Ewing to Deshon, Washington, June 3, 1873.

serves to which the Church rightly was entitled. Ewing expressed the hope that in a few years full justice would be done. No rearrangement had been made at the meeting, for the Secretary of the Interior had said that he intended to review the entire list of agencies. To provide him with accurate information Ewing requested the bishops to send the names of those places which they considered due to the Church in their respective dioceses. With the list he wanted complete data concerning the past and present status of both the Indians and their care.[52]

Among those to whom the letter was addressed was, of course, Archbishop Blanchet. Despite the amplitude of his correspondence on file in Washington and the presence there of Father Brouillet, the venerable prelate nevertheless wrote a lengthy reply. Therein he laid claim to seven agencies in the State of Oregon, two of which were then assigned to the Church.[53] And exactly two agencies were his total in the end, for the rearrangement of assignments—so often promised—never became a reality. The entire profit from the numerous written and personal requests was revealed at the end of June. Ewing then told the Paulist that he had received from the Indian Bureau and forwarded to the West coast authority for Catholic churches to be built on the Nez Percé and Yakima reservations. This permission had been asked the previous February but refused, and Ewing ascribed the final allowance of the request by the Department of the Interior to the Chippewa petition.[54] The redskins of Klamath, an Oregon reservation for which Archbishop Blanchet had contended at the same time as these other two, had meanwhile gone on the warpath. A veteran observer on the West coast said the trouble would have been prevented had Delano entrusted the reserve to Catholic missionaries.[55] The Chippewa Indians sought a reconsid-

---

[52] *Ibid.*, Ewing to Caspar H. Borgess, *et aliis*, Washington, June 7, 1873, copy.

[53] *Ibid.*, F. N. Blanchet to Ewing, Portland, July 12, 1873.

[54] *Ibid.*, Ewing to Deshon [Washington], June 29, [18]73, copy.

[55] *Catholic Sentinel* (Portland, Oregon), May 10, 1873.

eration from the President by sending a memorial requesting Catholic teachers for their sons and daughters, but they were no more successful than had been Grant's long-time friend, George Deshon.[56]

During the first months in his capacity as Catholic commissioner Charles Ewing depended primarily on the assistance of Deshon. Therefore, little mention has been made of the other priest who had promoted his appointment, J.B.A. Brouillet. From the available files it is apparent that the latter had been handling matters of detail for Ewing, though the greater part of his time had been devoted to the business in Washington of his own Bishop of Nesqually and the Archbishop of Oregon City. Brouillet's qualification was derived from his experience as an Indian missionary in the Northwest since 1847 and from his personal conviction that the pagan red men could be improved and elevated only by the truths of Christianity.[57] The two Blanchets had sent him on his fourth trip to the national capital after the election of 1872, that he might handle their joint interests until a representative for all the hierarchy was named.[58] Even before Ewing actually was decided upon for this post Bishop Magloire Blanchet began in February to urge Brouillet to return to Washington Territory. Immediately after Archbishop Bayley definitely appointed the general this insistence was repeated, Blanchet reminding the priest that Deshon and Mesplié were available for whatever assistance from the clergy Ewing might need.[59]

Never debating the matter, Brouillet rather temporized by bringing up additional business with which he was becoming concerned. Late in April his bishop stated that he had con-

---

[56] ABCIM, Memorial of 140 Chippewa men to the President of the United States, June 23, 1873, copy.

[57] AAS, Brouillet to the Members of the Central Council of Paris for the Work of the Propagation of the Faith, Nesqually, November 7, 1852, copy. Cf. Sister Marian Josephine Thomas, S.H.N., "Abbé Jean-Baptiste Abraham Brouillet," *passim.*

[58] A.M.A. Blanchet to Mesplié, Vancouver, November 18, 1872; in Van der Donckt, "The Founders of the Church in Idaho," *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[59] AAS, Blanchet to Brouillet, Vancouver, March 20, 1873, copy.

sulted with Francis Blanchet and the two had decided that Brouillet should resume his work on the West coast at once. Train fare for the transcontinental journey was a major item of expense for Bishop Blanchet. Hence he instructed his vicar general to arrange his affairs for departure from Washington while he sought to secure the money. Ten days later a draft for $200 was forwarded to Brouillet, but it reached him when negotiations for the agency of the Chippewas were at their height.[60] More and more Ewing had come to depend upon the French-Canadian priest. To retain his services he must have asked help of Baltimore, for Bayley acknowledged in May that he had requested the Bishop of Nesqually to permit Brouillet to remain sometime longer in Washington.[61]

To this request Blanchet replied that it was still the belief of himself and his brother that the handling of Indian affairs in Washington would have to be left to Ewing. The vastness of the territory and the fewness of the clergy of the Diocese of Nesqually made every priest desperately needed by the bishop. In addition to his general qualifications Blanchet said that Brouillet's ability to speak French made him irreplaceable for some sections. The principal consideration, however, was that the Washington Territory jurisdiction was too poor to bear Brouillet's expenses away from home. The two Blanchets felt that all the bishops who were benefiting should share the burden.

Despite the many uses to which the services of his priest could be put in the diocese, Blanchet, nonetheless, left the door open for his remaining in Washington. In fact, he recommended Brouillet strongly as being well qualified to work for the good of all the Indian missions of the various dioceses because of his more than twenty-five years' experience. All that was needed to please the bishop with Brouillet's assumption of the duties was an equitable distribution of his living expenses among the bishops having the care of Indians.[62] Though

[60] *Ibid.*, same to same, Vancouver, April 27 and May 6, 1873, copies.
[61] EC, Bayley to Ewing, Baltimore, May 28, 1873.
[62] AAB, 41-C-13, Blanchet to Bayley, Vancouver, June 15, 1873.

Brouillet prolonged this fourth Washington visit for another sixteen months, the problem of his upkeep was not solved during that time to his bishop's satisfaction. Apparently Bayley accomplished nothing in that regard, for late the following fall Blanchet was still complaining that the bishops for whom his own priest was working with such devotion were not showing their appreciation by contributing to his support. He thought that a personal appeal by Brouillet would have that happy result, but no evidence was found that the vicar general of Nesqually made such an attempt.[63]

Though neither the sustenance nor the permanence of his co-worker was on a regularized footing, Ewing came to discover that his own position involved a multitude and a wide variety of duties. A few samples of the subjects of his correspondence during the remainder of 1873 will demonstrate how quickly many problems other than the Chippewas were placed in his hands. His attention was called to the controverted agency of Fort Hall, which had been assigned to the Catholic Church the previous year and then taken back by Secretary Delano. A non-Catholic army captain stationed at the military post there wrote to Father Mesplié in western Idaho about the dissatisfaction of the Indians and their desire for missionaries whom they identified by their making the Sign of the Cross.[64] A Jesuit missionary sent in the petition of a chief of the Coeur d'Alènes for the Great Father in Washington to protect his children in the practice of the religion of their own choice, which right the agent had denied to the tribe.[65] From Montana came another complaint of a priest of the same Society of Jesus, this time because the agent at Fort Belknap, Montana, refused Catholic children permission to attend Mass on Sundays.[66] Lest it appear that the Jesuits were

[63] AAS, Blanchet to Brouillet, Vancouver, October 15, 1873, copy.

[64] Captain H. A. Finney to Mesplié, Ross Fork Agency, Idaho Territory, June 7, 1873; printed in full in the *Idaho Statesman* (Boise, Idaho), June 21, 1873.

[65] ABCIM, J[oseph] M. Cataldo, S.J., to Ewing, Lewiston, Idaho Territory, June 29, 1873.

[66] *Ibid.*, Fred Verschweiler, S.J., to Ewing, Harlem, Montana Territory, August 23, 1873.

unalterably opposed to all non-Catholic employees, mention should be made of Lawrence Palladino, S.J., asserting that he much preferred an honest liberal-minded Protestant in charge of an agency assigned to the Church than he did to have a poor Catholic.[67]

Nor was it only for missionaries or for strictly religious rights that Ewing was willing to protest when the point seemed to justify action. Having been notified by Narcisse Cornoyer at the Umatilla, Oregon, reserve that his discharging two unsatisfactory employees had been challenged, Ewing promptly demanded a ruling upon the powers of an Indian agent.[68] The purchase of Alaska by the United States from Russia was still being dubbed "Seward's folly" when the Washington attorney asked the Secretary of War for permission to have wine imported into the new territory for the offering of Mass by Catholic missionaries. In this request outside of the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior Ewing was more quickly successful than he was in his petitions for the Indians. As a result of the letter and his personal interview with William W. Belknap the general was able to advise Archbishop Alemany within a week that the commander at San Francisco had been directed to allow the sacramental wine to be taken into Alaska.[69]

These and many other concerns demanded ever more of the time and attention of this Washington attorney. Nevertheless, there was no change in the attitude which had impelled Deshon to say that the general was willing to do all of these things out of love of his faith.[70] But his good intentions were ignited into action by his energetic co-worker, Father Brouillet, in the direction of having a bureau in Washington handle the

---

[67] *Ibid.*, Palladino to Brouillet, Missoula, Montana Territory, November 9, 1873. Shortly before he had requested assistance in starting two new Indian boarding schools; *ibid.*, same to same, Missoula, October 29, 1873.

[68] *Ibid.*, Ewing to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, December 26, 1873.

[69] *Ibid.*, Ewing to W. W. Belknap, Washington, December 19, 1873; *ibid.*, Ewing to Alemany, Washington, December 27, 1873, copies.

[70] AAB, 43-M-15, Deshon to F. N. Blanchet, Sandusky, Ohio, November 28, 1872.

Indian affairs of the hierarchy rather than leaving them to Ewing alone. The general had gone to Berkley Springs, West Virginia, with his family for a late summer rest and vacation, but Brouillet would permit no flagging of interest in the cause of the Catholic missions. On August 21 and again two days later he asked his friend to furnish papers which he would take to Baltimore the following Monday, without, however, mentioning the nature of the documents other than that they were for the archbishop.[71] From two more letters on the next fortnight the project was revealed together with Bayley's first reaction. In the interview with Brouillet the archbishop had been completely despondent, both in regard to any favorable action by the government and the possibility of organizing a Catholic office for that purpose in Washington. The only hope which the priest had of a change in outlook lay in a letter from Ewing.[72]

In this letter the priest asked the general to request of Bayley and all the bishops of the country only two things: approval of a bureau, and permission to solicit support from the Catholic benevolent societies in each diocese. Armed with this double approbation Brouillet said: "We apprehend no difficulty in providing ample support for the Bureau without interfering in the least with the particular work of each bishop." As additional assistance a letter of recommendation from Bayley to the charitable attention of the hierarchy was suggested. Especially desirable would this document become if provided in time to be used at a convention of Catholic welfare societies which was to be held in New York the following October.[73]

Brouillet's last appeal for speed in composing the letter was sent on Friday, September 5. His hope that the address already was on the way apparently was realized, for the following day the Archbishop of Baltimore wrote to Ewing. Bayley had previously given his approval to the establishment of an office

[71] EC, Brouillet to Ewing, Washington, August 21 and August 23, 1873.
[72] *Ibid.*, same to same, Washington, September 5, 1873.
[73] *Ibid.*, same to same, Washington, September 1, 1873.

in Washington to carry on the work which the general had begun, but at this time he was not so enthusiastic. The principal cause of the archbishop's hesitancy was his conviction that nothing of value was to be derived from such an office. He had liked the petition for the Chippewa agency very much, and its rejection by Secretary Delano persuaded him that nothing would be done for the Church. If the authorities in Washington were motivated by justice, Bayley believed that a permanent source of accurate information combined with an effective pleader would be highly valuable to the missionary interests of the Church. As he saw it, however, the Indian Bureau had no respect for the justice or injustice of decisions. Moreover, he charged that the disregard of Catholic rights was intentional, deliberate, and unconcealed.

The archbishop placed the blame on no unidentified subordinates but he attributed the twisted policy to the Secretary of the Interior, with whom the President had declined or at least failed to interfere. Why? The Baltimore prelate was equally specific in stating that the Protestant societies had gained their predominant influence by promising to support the administration in everything. "This of course we could not do, and would not if we could," Bayley declared. He did not even see any hope in the proposed Catholic bureau gaining justice through influencing public opinion,[74] for he considered the ability of the government to confer political offices too powerful to be overcome. And yet his refusal of Ewing's plan was not absolute, for he promised to confer with other members of the hierarchy, especially Archbishop John McCloskey of New York.[75]

This lengthy letter was written on Saturday, and the following Thursday Ewing and Brouillet went to Baltimore to see

[74] *Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore), May 24, 1873, in an editorial, "The Church and the Indians," had called upon the Catholic newspapers of the country to direct public opinion by "making a thorough revelation of the terrible shortcomings of the Government in its management, or rather gross mismanagement of Indian affairs."

[75] ABCIM, Bayley to Ewing, Baltimore, September 6, 1873. AAB, Diary, p. 6, Bayley mentioned having talked about the Indian situation with Ewing during a visit to Washington in the previous May.

Bayley. The archbishop was out of the city when they called, but he promptly advised the following day that he had intended going to New York for consultation with McCloskey but a recurrence of his periodic illness and the press of ecclesiastical affairs had prevented his so doing. As he had previously remarked about the memorandum which Brouillet had left the week before, Bayley promised to forward to McCloskey another note which Ewing had written. He expressed supreme confidence in the judgment of his episcopal friend and said that a favorable opinion from New York on the project would alter his own adverse judgment.[76] The quick decision was not forthcoming, however, as Ewing had hoped. The entire nation was distracted during the next month by the Panic of 1873, which was touched off by the failure of Jay Cooke & Company and other financial institutions in New York. With nothing further from Bayley on the subject, Ewing revived his proposal on October 30. In stating that the Indian business was too much for him to handle alone, Ewing urged immediate action for the establishment of a bureau in Washington. The Church already had lost more than could be regained in two years, according to his estimate, and unless the deficiency were corrected without further delay Catholics would be forced from the field of missionary labor. Failure to be ready at the time the Peace Policy was proposed had put the Church in a situation where it was necessary to contend for her rights instead of simply defending possession of the missions which rightly belonged to her.

Two objections to his suggestion were anticipated by the general, and like a good army officer he had marshaled his forces to best them. The first was that establishment of a bureau would coalesce opposition. To him this had no weight, for Catholics would not be initiating but rather following an example which had already been set by the Protestant missionary societies. In fact, he thought that it would be a full an-

[76] *Ibid.*, Bayley to Ewing, Baltimore, September 12, 1873. Major Alexander J. Dallas, who sometimes helped Ewing in the Catholic mission work, also had called with the other two.

swer to the President's invitation to co-operate with his Indian plan. He considered the hostility of government officials, which was the second objection, as demanding rather than quashing more active methods on the part of Catholics. Ewing radiated enthusiasm and a belief that a central office in Washington was the means for attaining all these objectives. However, he made no appeal to Bayley for unilateral action, but rather he was seeking the approval of Baltimore as the first step toward obtaining the blessing for the project from all the bishops of the United States, or at least those concerned with the Indian missions directly.[77]

Only one exchange of opinions on the possibility of a central office in Washington passed between the general and his archbishop during the next month. In that Ewing gave further proof of his charitable nature by attributing past hostility toward Catholic mission interests to ignorance of the Church and her works. He again stressed the point that the Board of Indian Commissioners was entirely Protestant because Catholics had no representative in Washington in 1870. It was the correction of that condition he was then urging on Bayley.[78] Highly pertinent to the ill effects suffered by the Church from the unfriendly feeling of the chairman of that same board, Felix R. Brunot, was an article which had appeared in a New York newspaper the previous Saturday. It had been published under the heading of "Is This Justice?" Ewing said the author was an army officer, who had secured his data from reports which Ewing had collected since Bayley had named him commissioner for the Catholic missions. Apparently Baltimore was the only one whom Ewing wrote in regard to the full-page account, but he had distributed reprints, as he said, to "all the bishops of the United States, various Government officials, and many others."

---

[77] *Ibid.*, Ewing to Bayley, Washington, October 30, 1873, copy. Bayley noted a visit from Ewing, Brouillet, and Major Dallas on October 16 in regard to the Indian missions and he added: "The conduct of the Government in this matter is shameful"; AAB, 43-N-1, Memorandum.

[78] *Ibid.*, same to same, Washington, November 4, 1873, copy.

Brunot had been singled out for discussion by the writer to the newspaper because of an address he had made before the Evangelical Alliance in St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church in New York. There he had cited statistics and reports about the missionary work among the Indians but had not included a single reference to the labors of Catholics. As he was speaking to an audience exclusively Protestant, Brunot should not have been criticized for the omission. But the newspaper writer was on firmer ground when he took exception to the Indian commissioner speaking of 15,000 Christians among the Indians of the country. Listing the red men by tribes and agencies, the *Catholic Review* correspondent arrived at a total of 106,911 Indian Catholics. The incongruity noted was that for the 15,000 Protestant redskins sixty-six agencies had been allotted, while to the Catholic Church only seven reservations with a total population of about 17,000 had been given. Because of the few reserves in the hands of Catholics, the writer declared that nearly 90,000 copper-skinned members of his faith were under the control and supervision of non-Catholics.[79]

During this month of November Brouillet visited New York, but no record remains of whether he had talked with Archbishop McCloskey, as Bayley had suggested that he do. It may have been from the priest that Ewing learned the Catholic archbishops were to meet early in December in regard to the af-

---

[79] *Catholic Review* (New York), November 1, 1873. While Brunot has been credited with concealing his anti-Catholic feeling in official actions this was not always true. RBIC, L.R., December, 1871 to December, 1872, Brunot to Thomas K. Cree, Pittsburgh, March 5, 1872, warned the secretary of the board to avoid giving an appearance of denominational partiality. "I think you will quite understand me and not find it difficult to be on your guard." *Ibid.*, December 12, 1872: "I think the Lowrie [? Reverend John C. Lowrie, secretary of Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions] letter is well enough but if you still have R[oman] C[atholic; Brunot frequently used these initials in his correspondence to refer to Catholics] copist or employees wd. be sorry to have these things and the like, known to that ch[urch]." Mesplié told Archbishop Blanchet of having made Brunot blush by reminding him of his conduct while visiting Umatilla, Grande Ronde, and other reservations assigned to the Church. The priest had remarked: "In his visit he insulted the priests and the Catholic agents, and also the Indians if they had been able to understand him"; AAP, Mesplié to Blanchet, New York, October 2, 1872.

fairs of the American College in Rome. Ewing turned to his best friend among the hierarchy, Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati, who had officiated at the general's marriage in 1870.[80] Indians had ceased to be a problem in Ohio during the already long episcopacy of Purcell, so the general first gave a brief review of the developments in that regard under Grant's policy. Again he laid a part of the blame for the Church having been given only seven or eight of the Indian agencies to the failure to present claims properly when the program was begun. While Catholics were silent others had been outspoken. As a consequence denominations which were not entitled to a single agency by virtue of past missionary work had been awarded from ten to sixteen appointments. Agents who received their positions through one of these groups naturally would favor that organization, he pointed out, and would be hostile to the Catholics who were seeking to have the agency reassigned. Ewing excused the lesser officials for their opposition, but contended that a strong representation was needed in Washington where the department heads had chosen to ignore protests from individual bishops and priests. By this time Ewing realized that he had neither the time nor the financial means to carry on the task unaided. Therefore, he asked his friend to write to Bayley, if Purcell did not intend to go to the approaching meeting. Ewing was hopeful that his proposal would be sanctioned, but whether it be acceptance or rejection, he asked the Archbishop of Cincinnati to try to secure a definite decision.[81]

Purcell did not attend the New York conference, but the aging prelate sent a strong appeal to the Archbishop of New York to have Ewing appointed commissioner immediately. In acknowledging the general's request Purcell took it for granted that the other bishops would have approved, for he

---

[80] By a strange coincidence Virginia Miller, whom Ewing married, was from Mount Vernon, Ohio, which was also the home of Secretary of the Interior Delano. Not a Catholic at the time of the marriage, Mrs. Ewing entered the Church after the birth of her second child Charles. These facts were obtained from Mr. John K. M. Ewing, son of General Ewing, in a personal interview on April 16, 1952.

[81] ABCIM, Ewing to Purcell, Washington, December 2, 1873, copy.

thanked God that a man so willing and capable as his friend was taking up the work. Purcell pledged that any assessment for the enterprise would be met gladly. He added that it had often been said that each bishop was so occupied with the affairs of his individual diocese that he was prone to neglect projects which would have been for the general good of the Church. Purcell's letter was effective, for Bayley later told Ewing that the Archbishop of New York was the only one at the episcopal meeting who had an active interest in establishing a Washington office for Indian business.[82]

After some delay Archbishop McCloskey acknowledged Purcell's message, at the same time giving his own view of the conference of bishops. An informal discussion of protection for Catholic Indian missions had followed the regular business, he said, and the sentiment among those present was for co-operation along the lines suggested. While Archbishop Bayley had been empowered to give this assurance to Brouillet, no appointment of a bureau head had been agreed upon. That action was not to be taken until other members of the episcopacy had expressed themselves. Father Brouillet had told the bishops that about $4,000 would be needed annually for the expenses of the general office. The bishops did not object to the sum, agreeing that it would be raised among themselves and the other members of the hierarchy in the United States.[83]

McCloskey was far more optimistic about the realization of the projected Washington office than was Bayley. While the former had interpreted the expressions at the New York meeting as favorable, both to the setting up of an office and the underwriting of its expense, the Archbishop of Baltimore contended that the bishops generally felt the same as he did, namely, that little benefit would come of it. Nor was this personal appraisal of the episcopal attitudes all, for Bayley had been advised against the move by Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick of St. Louis and by the Jesuit provincial in Baltimore, James

82 *Ibid.*, Purcell to Ewing, Cincinnati, December 29, 1873; Bayley to Ewing, Woodstock, Maryland, December 10, 1873.

83 AUND, McCloskey to Purcell, New York, December 26, 1873.

E. Keller, S.J. Bayley said that recent events had convinced him more than ever that the Protestant denominations, especially the Methodists, were so much in control of the Indian program that a Catholic bureau would merely intensify their opposition. He recalled that Chairman Brunot had so expressed himself before the gathering of the Evangelical Alliance in New York. In addition, the entire Board of Indian Commissioners had threatened to resign if Grant appointed a Catholic to the body, whereupon the President promptly backed down. With all his influence and connections in Washington, Ewing could only hope to shame the administration into a few small concessions. Bayley dolorously believed that these driblets would be withdrawn again at the first opportunity.

For these reasons, rather than to establish a bureau the Archbishop of Baltimore preferred that Ewing should act alone. He was willing to appoint him commissioner for Catholic interests, but he could see no need of having a priest employed in the business, an apparent reference to Brouillet. When assistance of an ecclesiastic was needed in some particular matter, Bayley thought that the bishop of the diocese concerned could send one of his clerics to consult with Ewing. As a convert to Catholicism himself and as an advocate of respect for authority, Bayley maintained he would like to think differently about those directing the Indian program, but some small indication of fair play would first have to be shown. On the Indian question tempering of judgment was characteristic of the archbishop. Now he expressed unwillingness to stand in the way of even a possible good; it might be true, as Ewing ventured, that the government officials had acted from ignorance more than from malice. If the general was willing to be commissioner anyway, the archbishop promised to furnish credentials for presentation to the government and documents to show to societies who were disposed to contribute to the support of the work.[84]

At best Bayley's reply could hardly be regarded as more than restrained acquiesence to Ewing's proposal, but the apostolic

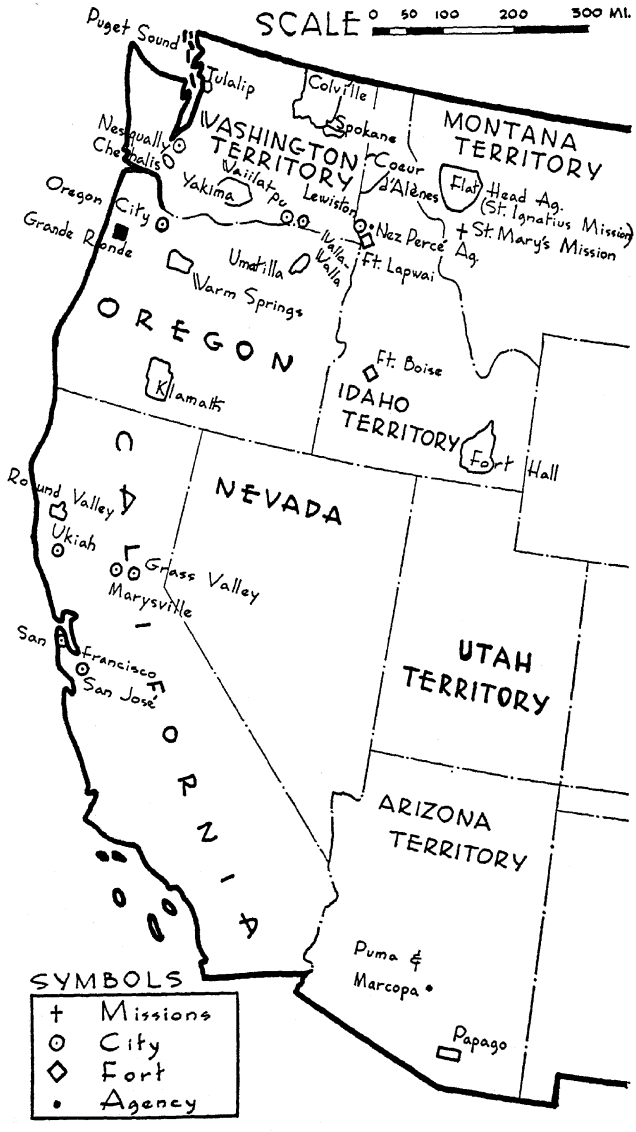
84 ABCIM, Bayley to Ewing, Woodstock, Maryland, December 10, 1873.

enthusiasm of the attorney was undaunted. His response of December 23 might have been considered a Christmas gift to the Catholic Church of the United States. Without a single qualification he assured his friend in Baltimore that he was entirely willing to take charge of all business with the government for the Catholic Indian missions. The formal letters of appointment which Bayley had offered were thereupon requested. The general, on his part, promised to make periodic reports of receipts and expenditures of the office and to keep the archbishop fully informed of the business transacted for the missions in the name of the hierarchy.[85] Thus did the Washington Catholic attorney espouse the duties which were to become his major occupation during the rest of his lifetime.

Lest it be assumed that all of Ewing's time was devoted to promotion of the central bureau, mention should be made of the promptness with which he undertook the task of regaining the Indian agencies to which he felt the Church had a just title. Late in December the general had an interview with Delano, during which the secretary instructed him to designate the red men whom the Catholics claimed were properly their charges. Just before the end of 1873 Ewing sent a list of forty different groups of Indians, most of them quartered on reservations. A formal petition was filed that they be turned over to the Church in accord with the President's policy. Of this number seven agencies and one sub-agency were already assigned to the Church. Ewing promised that the individual arguments for the other reserves would be forwarded as soon as they had been prepared. However, he stated in advance that the claim in each instance was based upon the same reasoning as had been followed in the petition for the Chippewas; namely, that the Church was the proper custodian of each reservation because of priority of missionary work which had been both permanent and successful.[86] It was according to that formula that extended briefs were filed with the Department of the In-

[85] AAB, 41-P-13, Ewing to Bayley, Washington, December 23, 1873.

[86] ABCIM, Ewing to Secretary of the Interior, Washington, December 30, 1873, copy.



Operations among the Indians of the Northwest to 1873

terior in the first months of 1874. Of the eight charges which had already been given to the Church it was true that the Grand River agency in Dakota Territory had not been filled at this time, a matter which will be treated more extensively hereafter. However, in that regard Catholics had been far more prompt in the nomination of agents than had been other religious groups. The Board of Indian Commissioners report for 1873, for instance, showed that thirty-three agencies which had been alloted to the care of non-Catholics were unfilled.[87]

If the Grand River Reserve was as yet open, the commissioner could have found comfort in the praise of the Catholic schools which had been promptly staffed and put into operation at other points. Inspector Edward C. Kemble was later to be critical of the Catholic contention for religious liberty on all reservations. But in 1873 after he had visited the school of the Tulalip Reservation, Washington Territory, he pronounced it the best institution west of the Rocky Mountains. The pupils had advanced so well in their studies that Kemble thought they would have shamed students of white schools, and the reason for the success was found in the devoted efforts of the Catholic sisters who were the teachers.[88] One more instance may be taken from a letter of John A. Sims, agent at Colville. Sims reported that the school there was so successful that nearly every day the sisters had to refuse to accept more Indian children, the capacity of the buildings having been already taxed.[89]

Ewing had felt that some benefit had been gained from his petition for the Chippewas, however short of his original goal it had fallen, in the permission given by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the erection of a Catholic church on both

---

87 *B.I.C., 1873,* pp. 60-65.

88 *C.I.A., 1874* (Washington, 1874), p. 83. In a *Report of the Joint Special Committee,* which body had been authorized by Congress on March 3, 1865, Senator James W. Nesmith of Oregon declared of Tulalip Reservation: "Here was the only place upon the Puget Sound where I witnessed any attempt being made to educate Indian children"; (Washington, 1867), pp. 3-4.

89 ABCIM, Sims to Brouillet, Fort Colville, Washington Territory, December 27, 1873.

the Nez Percé and the Yakima Reservations. In his application of February 14 for this authorization he had mentioned that Catholic missionaries had given religious instructions to members of the Nez Percé tribe for thirty years. During the previous five years a priest had stayed with these Indians during most of the year. The Reverend Henry H. Spalding had been driven out when the Whitman massacre occurred in 1847, and no Presbyterian minister had again visited the tribe until after the Peace Policy had been instituted.[90] Upon instructions from Delano acting Commissioner Clum had rejected the Ewing petition a month after it was filed.[91] Meanwhile the attorney had made his formal request that the Chippewas be entrusted to Catholic care. In failing to achieve this end, he was given the permission to have Catholic churches built on both the Idaho and the Washington Territory reserves. On the last day of June Ewing forwarded official authorizations for the places of worship (to be constructed at Catholic expense) to the bishops in charge of these respective districts. With the air of a man who had successfully completed a piece of business, he told Bishop Lootens that in the end the Church would be given everything to which it was entitled.[92]

Unknown to the general when he penned these letters was a turmoil which was already brewing at the Nez Percé Reservation. With this authorization for the erection of the churches the crisis became acute at both places. On May 15 John B. Monteith, agent for the Presbyterians at the north-central Idaho reserve, advised the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that the Catholic missionary was holding religious services for the Nez Percé members of the Church. Permission to build a church having been denied in March, the priest had asked to use

---

90 "Reports and Recommendations of Missionaries," Board of Indian Commissioners Bulletin No. 280 (Washington, 1927), p. 21, quoting Mary M. Crawford, The McBeth (Presbyterian) Mission, Lapwai, Idaho. (Mimeographed.)

91 ABCIM, Clum to Ewing, Washington, March 22, 1873.

92 *Ibid.*, Ewing to Deshon [Washington], June 29, [18]73. *Ibid.*, Ewing to Louis Lootens, Washington, June 30, 1873; *ibid.*, Ewing to A.M.A. Blanchet, Washington, June 30, 1873, copies.

the school house as a place of worship. Monteith said that had promptly been denied. Father Joseph M. Cataldo, S.J., who lived west of the Indian property at Lewiston, had then held services in the open without any shelter. Monteith inquired:

> Have I the right, this being a Presbyterian Agency and mission, to exercise such control over the morals of this people as will enable me to prohibit the teaching of the Catholic faith, or the holding of Catholic services among them, even though the Indians desire it and clamor for it.[93]

Commissioner Smith replied that the assignment of the reservation to the Presbyterian Church did not warrant any intolerant exercise of power. Also, it was not in keeping with public policy or the spirit of religious toleration to forbid or to hinder services for people who belonged to a particular faith. Smith observed that the arbitrary ban Monteith had suggested would work more harm than any consequence which was likely to develop from missionaries of two religions working on the same reservation.[94] Smith's advice that the Jesuit missionary should be allowed to use the school house as a place of worship for the Indians was superseded by the authorization for the erection of a Catholic church. About the time it was issued, however, Cataldo forwarded a protest from some Catholic Indian chiefs against Monteith's treatment.[95] The agent's refusal to permit services other than Presbyterian had become known along the Pacific coast. A Portland paper took issue with his action, as well as to the remarks of a Presbyterian minister of that Oregon city that there were no Catholics among the Yakima tribe and almost none among the Nez Percé.[96]

---

93 RBIA, L.R., Nez Percés, 1873, Monteith to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Lapwai, Idaho Territory, May 15, 1873.

94 RBIA, L.S., 1873, 112, 305-306, Smith to Monteith, Washington, May 24, 1873.

95 ABCIM, Cataldo to Brouillet, Lewiston, Idaho Territory, June 29, 1873. Attached was a copy of a letter of Seltis, head chief, and others to Mr. Monteith, Lewiston, June 25, 1873.

96 *Catholic Sentinel* (Portland, Oregon), June 20, 1873, in editorial, "That Intolerant Agent," also quoted from address made by Dr. [A. L.?] Lindsley, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Portland, to a Presbyterian synod in San Francisco.

The sanction of Commissioner Smith for the erection of the two churches provoked a strong protest from the second reservation, that of Yakima in Washington Territory. The agent was James H. Wilbur, who had been nominated to that post by the Methodist Church. He advised Smith that all Protestant Christians had taken the Indian agencies with the expectation that in each instance sole jurisdiction was to be exercised, as it was expressed, "most of all without the interference of the Catholic priesthood."[97] His principal objection to these missionaries was that they followed a persistent policy of counteracting the instructions of the Protestant teachers. Supplementing Wilbur's protest was another from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Washington Territory, Robert H. Milroy, also of the Methodist persuasion. Milroy adopted a different tack, contending that the permission to Catholic missionaries was a violation of the treaties between the respective tribes and the United States. According to the clause Milroy cited, no white man could enter these reservations without the consent of the superintendent, the agent, and the Indians themselves. As Wilbur and he were opposed to the coming of the Catholics, the attitude of the red men did not enter into consideration. On this basis the action of the Secretary of the Interior was regarded as illegal and void by Milroy.[98]

In the preceding June, the same month in which Ewing had received official sanction for the erection of churches for these Catholic red men of the Northwest, Congress had approved another division of the Indian Office. By this amendment superintendencies were abolished in some districts and five men with the title of inspector were named. These new officials

---

[97] James H. Willem [Wilbur] to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Fort Simcoe, Washington Territory, September 1, 1873; *C.I.A., 1873* (Washington, 1874), p. 314.

[98] Milroy to Smith, Olympia, Washington Territory, October 20, 1873; *C.I.A., 1873*, p. 298. ABCIM, Ewing to Secretary of the Interior, Washington, January 14, 1874, copy, suggested that if Superintendent Milroy, who had been suspended, was replaced, a layman of good character be named rather than a cleric, whether Protestant or Catholic. Ewing's opinion was that thereby discrimination and, perhaps, dissention might be avoided. Both Milroy and Wilbur were Methodist ministers.

were not under the immediate jurisdiction of the Board of Indian Commissioners, but like the latter were to serve as a check upon the operation of the Indian service.[99] The President had promised that one and, perhaps, two of the appointees would be Catholics, but this assurance was no more fulfilled than that of adjusting the agency assignments.[100] Edward C. Kemble, who had attended the conference in Washington the preceding January as the secretary of the Protestant Episcopal Indian Commission, was given the position for part of the Northwest.[101] In response to a petition by the Nez Percés for the opportunity of Catholic worship Inspector Kemble was ordered to go to Lapwai, Idaho Territory, to hear the interested members of the tribe. Notice was sent to the Catholics on the reserve that the new inspector would meet them at the controverted school house, but though the Indians were present at the appointed time neither Kemble nor the agent made an appearance.[102] Ewing requested that a Catholic of proper qualifications and impartial disposition be named by the Department of the Interior to hear the grievances of the Nez Percés. Later he sent the name and address of the Jesuit missionary, that

---

99 *Catholic Sentinel* (Portland), June 15, 1873, related the action of Congress and the names of the new inspectors. *B.I.C., 1873,* p. 6, because of the short time the inspectors had been engaged no report was made on their work; *ibid., 1875* (Washington, 1875), p. 15, stated that Congress had reduced the number of inspectors from five to three.

100 AAP, Mesplié to F. N. Blanchet, Washington, November 23, 1872, advised that Grant had promised Deshon that one or two of the new superintendents [inspectors] would be Catholics. At the same time the President had said that the Church would be given a place on the Board of Indian Commissioners. ABCIM, Ewing to Deshon, Washington, June 3, 1873, advised that the inspectors had been appointed that morning. Delano had told Ewing that one was a Catholic but would not reveal his name. *Ibid.,* same to same [Washington], June 29, [18]73, advised that J. C. O'Connor of New York had been credited to the Church as an inspector; Ewing had heard O'Connor was dishonest and intended to refuse acceptance of the appointment. In all the records and correspondence of the Indian Office where the name of J. C. O'Connor was used, no instance was found in which his given name was employed. *The Pilot* (Boston), January 16, 1875, stated that Grant had wanted one inspector to be a Catholic, but this was not permitted.

101 *Journal of the Second Annual Conference,* etc., p. 3; *Catholic Sentinel* (Portland), June 15, 1873.

102 *Idaho Signal* (Lewiston, I.T.), December 6, 1873, editorial, "Straws Index the Wind."

proper arrangements for an actual meeting with Kemble might be made.[103] Neither of these offers was accepted. Eventually only the agent heard the request of the Indians for a Catholic church and school and sent it to Kemble, who was then at Portland, Oregon.[104] No record of any action by the inspector was found.

While the final outcome for the Idaho as well as the Washington reservation was that the Catholic churches were never built, the result was even more far reaching. Grant's first Commissioner of Indian Affairs had given assurances that the administration had no intention of hindering Catholics from carrying on a mission which had already been founded, and Commissioner Smith had informed Agent Monteith that any such prohibition would be contrary to public policy.[105] Notwithstanding, the Indian Bureau tended ever more to restrict religious ministrations on an agency to a single denomination, regardless of the wishes of a minority or even a majority of the Indians themselves. A competent observer had said that Protestant advocacy of this procedure flowed from the inability or disinclination of the red men to follow the principle of private interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. His opinion was that the non-Catholic churches could hope for success only if granted exclusive rights on a reservation.[106] Hence it was that Ewing, instead of having completed the negotiations in June for Catholic churches on these two reservations, found at the end of the year that the right had been lost. The agitation which was thereby promoted was to continue throughout the

---

103 ABCIM, Ewing to Delano, Washington, October 28, 1873; *ibid.*, Ewing to Edward P. Smith, Washington, November 13, 1873, copies.

104 *Arizona Citizen* (Tucson), October 18, 1873, "Lapwai Council on Friday." The agent had claimed that he had supposed Kemble would show up, but he was busy writing letters to his family and so did not go himself to the first meeting which was scheduled.

105 AAP, E. S. Parker to F. N. Blanchet, Washington, February 23, 1871; RBIA, L.S., 1873, 112, 305-306, Smith to Monteith, Washington, May 24, 1873.

106 Priest, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

life of the Peace Policy. In fact, with the ultimate abandonment of the limitation of one religion to a reservation, the entire program was to come to a speedy termination.

General Ewing and his associates in the commissioner's office—principally Father Brouillet—might well have had reasons for feeling depressed as 1873 came to a close.[107] There had been no readjustment of agency allotments at the Washington conference the previous January; the petition for the Chippewa Agency had been thrust aside despite its solid foundation on the words of the President and the long record of Catholic ministration; no member of the Church had been named among the five Indian inspectors; and as a final blow religious freedom was in effect denied to Catholic Indians at some reservations. But the year had started out with the eager search for a permanent agent to represent the Catholic mission interests with the federal government. In the person of Charles Ewing such a man had been found and duly appointed. The selection in itself revealed that the amount of business to be transacted was far greater than had been anticipated. Without in any degree rescinding the generous offering of his services and much of his money, the attorney had accordingly proposed that a bureau be founded. On the second day of the new year, the Archbishop of Baltimore gave formal approval of this idea by sending to Ewing a letter addressed to the Secretary of the Interior.[108] So many times thereafter this communication was quoted and reproduced in statements issued by the Catholic bureau that it is given here in its entirety.

---

107 EC, Deshon to General [Ewing], Buffalo, New York, December 1, 1873, advised that he was much occupied in the Paulist preaching work but still had an interest in Indian affairs. He asked what had been done about the general reconstruction of the agencies.

108 *Ibid.*, Bayley to Ewing, Baltimore, January 2, 1874, in which Bayley apologized for the delay in sending the letter for Delano, which he hoped would be satisfactory.

ARCHDIOCESE OF BALTIMORE

To the Honorable
the Secretary of the Interior
Washington, D. C.

January 2d, 1874

Honorable Sir:

The Catholic Bishops of the United States who have Indian Missions within the limits of their Dioceses, have requested me to appoint a responsible person residing in Washington as their representative, near the Department having charge of these matters.

They are not able to leave their Dioceses to come to Washington to explain the great injustice, which is often done towards the missions (which have been for so many years under their care), on account as they believe, of erroneous information sent to the Department, and they feel that it would be a great advantage to them and agreeable to the Department if some one fully acquainted with the whole matter, should take charge of the interests of the old Catholic Missions amongst the Indians.

In accordance with their request, and acting in their name, I have appointed General Charles Ewing of Washington, to act as Commissioner on the part of the Catholic Bishops for this purpose, as one every way fitted for the position, and I am confident personally acceptable to yourself; and as such, I respectfully recommend him to your kind attention. I have the honor to be,

Very truly, your ob't serv't

✠ J. Roosevelt Bayley
Archbishop of Baltimore[109]

More than four years had passed since Grant had first announced that he was entrusting some of the Indian reservations to the care of Society of Friends. In this long interval Catholics had done little except to protest "the great injustice. . . towards the missions," as Bayley had regarded it. As the new year of 1874 opened the organization—later to be known as the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions—also came into being. Positive, definitive action had been taken at last. Late—but not too late—might be a pithy commentary on the establishment.

[109] ABCIM, copy.

CHAPTER IV

FINANCING THE BUREAU

The primary reason for the appointment of Charles Ewing, first as sole commissioner, and then at the beginning of 1874 as the head of the Catholic bureau in Washington, had been to regain the agencies over which the Church once had supervision. Judged by this aim, nothing had actually been accomplished by the general and his aids during the year 1873. Aside from minor benefits secured from the Indian Office, the lasting achievement of the campaign which had been begun by Archbishop Blanchet in January, 1871, was the establishment of the Washington office for the Catholic Indian missions. Official approval had been granted by the Archbishop of Baltimore in the name of the hierarchy of the United States. However, in a complete reversal, Bayley told Purcell before the middle of January that he was actually opposed to the establishment of the Catholic bureau because the action was liable to misrepresentation. The step had been taken because the western bishops had requested it, and Baltimore only hoped that Ewing might succeed in halting the injustice which he thought was being done openly to the Catholic missions.[1] Undampened by the archbishop's incredulity as to his success, Ewing began to file documented appeals for the agencies which he had enumerated in his general petition of the previous December 30.[2] For instance, on January 14 detailed claims were presented for care of the Indians of the Puget Sound area in Washington Territory, and the Warm Springs Reserve to the south in Ore-

[1] AUND, Bayley to Purcell, Baltimore, January 13, 1874. Cf. "Abbreviations Used in Footnotes" for meaning of symbols.

[2] ABCIM, Ewing to Secretary of the Interior, Washington, D. C., January 14, 1874 (3 letters), copies. In these petitions for the California agencies the history of the missions there was reviewed, petitions of the Indians for Catholic teachers cited, and reports and letters from one archbishop, two bishops, and four Indian missionaries were made part of the record.

gon. Application also was made for the Indians in the State of California, for despite Secretary Cox's presumption of four years before,[3] no tribe in that state had ever been consigned to Catholic supervision.

While these letters were being written the third annual conference of government officials and the representatives of the various missionary societies convened in Washington. The Catholic Church had no delegate, and in spite of the petition for the Chippewa agency, Chairman Brunot made no reference to General Ewing but wondered if Father Deshon was the Catholic agent. Those in attendance claimed that progress in christianizing and civilizing the Indians was being made under the President's policy, although some distressing exceptions were admitted. In addition to the great number of agencies which had been accepted by some of the religious bodies but to which even then no missionaries had been sent, the character of some men who had been named was considered far from ideal. Instead of promoting the spiritual development of the red men, it was charged that many of those employed were not of Christian character, while others were labeled "the worst class that the country can produce."[4]

On this score and other counts newspapers of the country, especially the pro-Catholic ones, became increasingly critical. In his New York *Freeman's Journal* James A. McMaster condemned the "Quaker Plan," as he termed it, calling it a complete and unmitigated failure.[5] His solution was the return of the Indian service to the War Department, and he quoted Generals Sherman and Harney as advocating the move. The idea appealed to a veteran Indian missionary among the Osages because he thought thereby the plea of this tribe for Catholic

---

[3] RBIC, L.R., Tray 118, J. D. Cox to Felix R. Brunot, Washington, August 20, 1870, said that the missions of California were "under the control of the Catholics" and were so included in the general plan of assignment.

[4] *B.I.C., 1873,* pp. 25, 183. The proceedings of the January meeting were always carried in the report of the previous calendar year.

[5] Editorial, "The Indian Question," February 7, 1874.

teachers might be answered affirmatively.[6] An Ohio Catholic paper attacked the published report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, and commended the Pueblo Indians for refusing to send their children to a school not operated by a "black robe."[7] To at least one Catholic newspaper Father Brouillet sent a request that attacks on the government's Indian policy be omitted. Also he asked that no further mention be made of a proposal that the religious organs unite in revealing the alleged government mismanagement of Indian affairs.[8] But the complaints of discrimination on religious grounds were not confined to denominational papers. A Montana daily aired the charges against the agent of the Blackfeet Indians, who had prohibited the Jesuit missionary from continuing his custom of offering Mass on that reserve. All of this came out when the agent himself was suspended from office and indicted for fraud. The sponsor and bondsman for this Methodist agent had been Dr. John P. Newman, who, the paper said, was "the spiritual advisor of President Grant."[9] In commenting on the report the *Catholic Mirror* noted that Dr. Newman was then on a tour of the Pacific in a Navy vessel.[10]

These affairs were the proper business of Ewing in his new position as head of the Catholic bureau, but his major concern must have been the financial needs of his office. Not that personal compensation was what he was seeking, for the commissioner never received a single penny of salary during all his

---

[6] *Freeman's Journal,* "The Indians and How to Treat Them," February 21, 1874. John Schoenmakers, S.J., to McMaster, Osage Indian Mission, Neosho County, Kansas, February 11, 1874; *ibid.,* February 28, 1874.

[7] *Catholic Telegraph* (Cincinnati), April 23, 1874. Cf. *B.I.C., 1873,* p. 174, for remarks of Rev. John C. Lowrie, Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.

[8] ABCIM, Brouillet to Editors, *Catholic Mirror,* Washington, January 3, 1874, copy.

[9] *Rocky Mountain Daily Gazette* (Helena), November 26, 1873, reported the removal of Agent Fletcher Ensign, who had previously expelled Father Camillus Imoda, S.J., from the Blackfoot agency. Dr. Newman was the Methodist-Episcopal pastor of the Metropolitan Memorial Methodist Church, Washington.

[10] (Baltimore) December 27, 1873 and January 3, 1874. In regard to the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore (1884) appointing a permanent commis-

years of service to the Catholic missions.[11] While a great deal of the clerical expense was borne by him, too, the cost of operations, the support of Father Brouillet, and salaries for others who were employed periodically were a constant and perplexing problem. That adequate financial support was not secured easily will not be surprising to anyone familiar with the history of the Catholic Church in the United States. Especially was this true in the nineteenth century when it was so largely "the church of the immigrant." The law of the Church provides that the bishop is responsible for the temporal as well as the spiritual well-being of his diocese; assistance from outside his own territory is his to obtain when that is needed.

In the 1870's the Church was growing rapidly in the East and in some sections of the Middle West, but these were the habitats neither of the Indian nor of the Catholic missions. The need for funds was not coincident with the appointment of Ewing by the Archbishop of Baltimore. When Deshon had offered to act as temporary representative of the bishops in the winter of 1872 Archbishop Alemany of San Francisco gladly availed himself of the service. He assured the Paulist that any moderate expense connected with this work would be paid by him, setting, however, a limit of $100. This restriction of Alemany was indicative of the poverty of the Pacific coast diocese in the 1870's. When Deshon and Brouillet proposed in January, 1873, that a central office for Indian affairs be founded in Washington, all three of the California hierarchy gave their approval, but each qualified his assent with mention of

---

sion for Indians and Negroes, Monsignor James A. Corcoran of Philadelphia declared: "They will continue to use their best efforts to undo the last traces of the anti-Catholic policy of Hiram Ulysses Grant and his spiritual adviser, Rev. Mr. Newman, who without a scruple sent out Methodist agents and missionaries to rob Catholic Indians of their supplies and their religion"; Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore, 1791-1884* (New York, 1932), p. 241. A brief account of Corcoran's life has been written by Ernest F. Boddington, *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV, 439.

11 Personal interview with John K.M. and Eleanor Ewing, son and daughter of Charles Ewing, Silver Spring, Maryland, January 15, 1951.

the spare financial support which could be provided.[12] Bishop Blanchet was not more emphatic in this regard than his southern confreres, but the presence of Brouillet in Washington gave him reason for writing more frequently. He repeated that the poor Diocese of Nesqually could not afford the expense of the prolonged stay of the priest in the capital, contending that if Brouillet was working for all, then support should come from all dioceses of the country. Earlier he had written to Baltimore that an enterprise for the common good must rest upon the contributions of all who were profiting from the movement, rather than to leave the support of Brouillet to the diocese which, he said, was least able to pay.[13]

Taking the statements of the hierarchy of the West coast as an index of the sentiment of the poorer bishops, more optimism was expressed by archbishops of the populous centers. Purcell of Cincinnati, it will be remembered, had pledged himself and his archdiocese to meet any assessment which was levied for the bureau. Soon after he assured Ewing that the Archbishop of New York had told him that the Catholic bishops and priests of the country intended to tax themselves to the extent of $4,000 annually for the Catholic Indian missions.[14] This view appears to have been rather inflated. Actually McCloskey had stated that Brouillet wanted $4,000 for the expense of the bureau, and the bishops present at the meeting in New York had agreed to try to raise the sum.[15] There can be no question of Purcell's good intention toward his friend General Ewing, but forces beyond his control reduced his actual con-

---

12 ABCIM, Alemany to Deshon, San Francisco, December 23, 1872; Eugene O'Connell to Brouillet and Deshon, Grass Valley, California, January 26, 1873; Thaddeus Amat, C.M., to Brouillet, Monterey, February 17, 1873; Alemany to Brouillet, San Francisco, February 18, 1873.

13 AAS, Blanchet to Ewing, Vancouver, W.T., February 25, 1874; Blanchet to Bayley, Vancouver, June 15, 1873, copies. In 1870 the population of Washington Territory was about five per cent of that of the State of California; *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1950* (Washington, 1950), pp. 34-35.

14 ABCIM, Purcell to Ewing, Cincinnati, December 29, 1873; EC, same to same, Cincinnati, January 9, 1874.

15 AUND, McCloskey to Purcell, New York, December 26, 1873.

tribution to a mere $100. The panic of 1873 eventually led to the collapse of the finances of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati so that no more help ever came to the bureau from that source.[16]

Bayley, who was in contact with all the principal members of the episcopacy in regard to the Indian problem, at first made no direct donation. But once he saw that other methods would not be the successes he had anticipated, he was the most consistently generous of all the bishops to the Indian work. Bayley's delay in opening his purse must be ascribed to no other than Ewing himself. When he was soliciting the approval of Baltimore for the establishment of the Catholic bureau, Ewing told the archbishop that no pecuniary help was wanted from him nor from any of the hierarchy. The optimistic general saw all of the financial needs of his office taken care of by a single organization, the Catholic Union of New York. To the official letter of approval of January 2, 1874, Bayley did add a paragraph which solicited the contributions of Catholics in general.[17] However, a few days later he advised Purcell that the New York society was expected to provide the principal backing, with occasional supplement from other parts of the country. No immediate need was foreseen, for the discussion of this topic was closed with the remark that it could be talked over in May, fully five months hence.[18]

Ewing's error regarding the amount which would be given by the Catholic Union may in part be attributed to the departure for Europe of a friend upon whose influence and prestige he had counted strongly. Immediately after his appointment as commissioner Ewing had written to a Park Avenue physician, Dr. Henry James Anderson, who was also a member of the executive committee of the New York fraternal organization. In declining to accept the position of treasurer of the Catholic bureau Anderson advised of his intention of going

---

16 John B. Lamott, *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, 1821-1921* (Cincinnati, 1921), Chapter V: "Ecclesiastical Property."

17 ABCIM, Ewing to Bayley, Washington, October 30, 1873, copy; Bayley "To Those Whom It May Concern," Baltimore, January 2, 1874.

18 AUND, Bayley to Purcell, Baltimore, January 13, 1874.

abroad for a year. Before his departure $500 was appropriated by the Catholic Union for the Indian work, with the promise of more at the end of six months.[19] The full amount never was placed at Ewing's command, but instead he drew upon the New York organization for various small sums. Archbishop Purcell commented that the Catholic Union moved slowly, and after nine months' experience with that society the Washington attorney said its appropriations had not been sufficient to pay one copyist, much less the full expense of his office.[20] After a desperate Christmas appeal for $200 went unanswered, the name of the Catholic Union of New York—once regarded as the principal if not the sole support—appears no more in the correspondence or publicity of the Catholic Indian office.

The failure of the New York group to advance the funds anticipated caused the ex-soldier to resort to the weapon with which he was then most adept, the pen. In February Ewing issued a letter which gave a detailed exposition of the Indian question as an inducement for financial support from the Catholics to which it was addressed. For the first time a document from his office was prefaced with a letter which was to be reproduced many times, namely, that of Archbishop Bayley to the Secretary of the Interior, authorizing Ewing to take charge of the Catholic mission interests.[21] The general commenced his appeal by declaring that the office was not working for the prosperity of the missions but to save them from impending ruin. That disaster threatened, Ewing said, because the federal government's Indian policy, seemingly a blessing, had turned out to be the opposite for Catholic missions.

---

19 ABCIM, Ewing to Anderson, Washington, January 9, 1874, copy, in which Ewing mentioned he had already advanced several hundred dollars of his own money to finance the work he was doing without salary. *Ibid.*, Anderson to Ewing, New York, January 19 and 24, 1874.

20 *Ibid.*, Purcell to Ewing, Cincinnati, March 23, 1874; Ewing to William J. Hughes, Treasurer, Washington, September 24, 1874, copy. A large file of correspondence with the Catholic Union is in ABCIM.

21 *Ibid.*, original draft of circular letter, Ewing, Washington, February n.d., 1874; *ibid.*, Bayley to the Secretary of the Interior, Baltimore, January 2, 1874, copy. The latter is reproduced on p. 118.

In an extended review of the history of Indian relations, the general granted that prior to 1870 Indian agents had been political appointees who all too often had turned out to be dishonest grafters. As the new agent for Colville had reported on his arrival at the Washington Territory reserve, the very name "Indian agent" was a reproach.[22] Recognizing that both money and force had failed as solutions of the problem, President Grant had announced that the care of the red men was to be entrusted to religious societies who had been engaged in the work. Thus the Assistant Secretary of the Interior had termed the church groups the "missionary branch" of the government's policy. Ewing regarded the program as excellent in itself, but in its execution he found a marked digression from the official announcement. In general the charges which were made in this letter against the actual operation of the Peace Policy were the same, or similar, to those which had been included in the petition for the Chippewas. And as before, Ewing made no direct criticism of the President, attributing the dismal situation to Grant's subordinates who had undermined the honest purpose of the chief executive.

Having established the need, Ewing then turned to the measure which the Catholic bishops had taken to meet it, and this, of course, was his own commissioner's office. Previously attention had been drawn to the Protestant denominations having accredited representatives in the national capitol. In this letter Ewing asserted that the Catholic bureau had a like object to these Protestant agencies, that is, to unify the Church's actions in behalf of the Indian missions. The paper closed with the presentation of an incentive which had not been used before. Ewing here urged the white Catholics to support the struggle for religious liberty for the Indian, lest in losing this fight their own freedom to worship God should be endangered. When printed this letter comprised a fourteen-page pamphlet, and in its distribution a leaflet was also sent which was probably in-

---

22 *Ibid.*, John A. Sims to Brouillet, Fort Colville, Washington Territory, January 6, 1872.

tended for the clergy.[23] Therein the Washington attorney reiterated that he was receiving no salary or any other compensation himself, but, nevertheless, contributions were required in order to pay his clerical and office expense. He proposed that the clergy should immediately send to his office the names of the officers of all parish societies, together with the priest's opinion as to whether these groups could be expected to furnish financial aid. That request was a bit demanding, and the archives of the Catholic bureau show that almost no response was made to it by the parish priests of the country.

Bayley was the first of the hierarchy to congratulate Ewing on what he called a clear and forceful statement of the Catholic position. The archbishop must have been in an optimistic mood, for he said that the President was bound both by his office and his promise to correct the injustices. From Cincinnati Purcell warned his friend in Washington that devoting so much time to appeals for the poor red men was certain to injure Ewing's law practice.[24] Probably through the instigation of these and his other episcopal friends, Ewing's article was reprinted in several Catholic newspapers of the country, usually accompanied by an editorial which urged donations by the readers.[25] Among the priests who wrote for circulars, as the letter in pamphlet form was called, one Indiana pastor suggested that better distribution of them might be obtained by using the new penny post cards to address the clergy. This priest intimated that Ewing's arguments might be too recondite for general understanding. His alternative was an appeal printed on the

---

23 Ewing, *Circular of the Catholic Commissioner for Indian Missions to the Catholics of the United States* (Baltimore, 1874). ABCIM, printed leaflet which accompanied the booklet, Ewing to no addressee, Washington, February n.d., 1874.

24 ABCIM, Bayley to Ewing, Baltimore, March 21, 1874; Purcell to Charles [Ewing], Cincinnati, March 23, 1874.

25 *Catholic Telegraph* (Cincinnati), March 26, 1874, published the circular letter and an editorial, "The Catholic Commissioner of the Catholic Indians"; *Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore), April 11, 1874, printed letters of Bayley and Ewing together with an editorial, "A Cry for Aid"; *Catholic Sentinel* (Portland, Oregon), April 24, 1874, carried Ewing's appeal and Bayley's letter of appointment, an article, "Indian Missions," and a strong editorial, "Indian Missions and Missionaries."

postal card in Latin which, as he said, "all priests, even the greenest foreigners, understand."[26]

The direct aid from the bishops of the country, which Archbishop McCloskey had thought would be forthcoming, was but a mere trickle during the entire year of 1874. Purcell sent $100 in March and later apologized for what he called his "humble pittance."[27] At that time both Ewing and he would have been greatly discouraged had they known that the one other contribution of the episcopacy for 1874 had already been sent from San Francisco. When Alemany congratulated Ewing upon his circular letter, the attorney promptly requested permission to draw on the archbishop for $100 for expenses.[28] Purcell had advised that a business meeting of some of the archbishops would be held in his see-city the first week of May. Prior to the gathering Ewing asked his friend to remind the hierarchy of the bureau's need for support.[29] The *Catholic Telegraph* reported that six members of the episcopacy met with Purcell on May 5, but the best the host could send to Washington was another vague promise of McCloskey that he and the Catholic Union of New York would be good for $2,000 annually. Bayley must have been in a depressed state, for he felt that the bureau would be too costly.[30]

---

26 ABCIM, J. B. Merl to Ewing, St. Joseph's near Evansville, Indiana, June 1, 1874. He also suggested that announcements be printed in German-language newspapers.

27 *Ibid.*, Purcell to Ewing, Cincinnati, March 23 and May 12, 1874.

28 *Ibid.*, Alemany to Ewing, San Francisco, April 24, 1874; Ewing to Alemany, Washington, April 30, 1874, copy; same to same, May 9, 1874, copy; R. P. Brennan, secretary to Alemany, to Ewing, San Francisco, May 11, 1874, sent check for $100.

29 *Ibid.*, Purcell to Charles [Ewing], Cincinnati, March 23, 1874; Ewing to Purcell, Washington, April 30, 1874, copy, in which the commissioner added: "I believe that, if we fail now to help these Missions and Schools, our brothers in the faith who come after us will, in all human probability, suffer the wrong that the Indians are suffering now." AAP, Brouillet to F. N. Blanchet, Washington, April 29, 1874, told of the forthcoming meeting in Cincinnati, at which the priest hoped financial aid for the bureau would be provided.

30 *Catholic Telegraph* (Cincinnati), May 7, 1874; ABCIM, Purcell to General [Ewing], Cincinnati, May 12, 1874.

Father Brouillet, who later was to take charge of raising funds for the bureau, went to Montreal in July to secure sisters to teach Indians in Dakota. At that distance he did not forget the donation which McCloskey had promised would come from New York. Reminding Ewing that the archbishop was leaving for Europe, he asked that a letter be sent him at once in order that orders for payment might be given before his departure. Ewing responded by reviewing for McCloskey what had been accomplished for the Catholic missions and urged that continued activity be insured by the contribution which had been mentioned in Cincinnati.[31] However, not only did 1874 pass without financial assistance from New York, but it was December 6 of the following year before the first $100 was given by McCloskey, by that time the first cardinal of the Church in the United States.[32]

In addition to appealing to the bishops and to the people in general Ewing thought that wealthy members of the Church might come to the aid of his office. But no success through that avenue was achieved in the first year. Bayley was the first to tell him of an attempt to arouse interest among his people of means "but—well I will not write what I think," concluded the archbishop. An entreaty to San Francisco to commend the cause to wealthy Californians brought no returns at all.[33] To Bayley the general pointed out the rank disparity between the funds available for his work and the large amounts with which various Protestant groups had been credited in an official government report. Though discrepancies existed in these figures, the Episcopalians, for instance, certainly spent about $50,000 of their own funds in 1873 to augment the federal outlay for Indians.[34] While no definite sum was listed for Catholics

[31] ABCIM, Brouillet to Ewing, Montreal, July 20, 1874; Ewing to McCloskey, Washington, July 22, 1874, copy.

[32] EC, *Report of the treasurer of the Catholic Indian Mission Fund, January, 1873, to December 1, 1876* (n.d., n.p.).

[33] ABCIM, Bayley to Ewing, Baltimore, March 21, 1874; Ewing to Alemany, Washington, May 9, 1874, copy.

[34] *Ibid.*, Ewing to Bayley, Washington, April 28, 1874, copy. *B.I.C., 1873*, p. 100, said the Protestant Episcopal Indian Commission had expended $48,410.37; *ibid.*, p. 31, reported the same group had spent $67,771.79.

in the same release of the Indian commissioners, Ewing granted that members of the Church had and were aiding Indian missionaries directly. However, their contributions were not coming through him as the official representative of the Church and, therefore, did not appear in the government's survey. The donations to Catholic missions in America were to a major extent from Europe through the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and other charitable organizations.[35] In reality, the United States Catholics had done comparatively little through any channel.

Such instances consumed the Catholic commissioner's energy in the search for proper financial support, and the scope of his work was thereby restricted. Eventually the point was reached when operating expenses were not being paid. The bill for printing one of the circular letters issued in 1874 was met with a sixty-day note to the Washington printer. Again, a Baltimore firm had handled the letter which Ewing had addressed to the Catholics of the United States. When a dun for the charges of $175 came in October, Ewing had to request an extension of credit, saying that he had already been paying current expenses out of his private funds. The publisher readily granted an additional sixty days, but used the occasion to ask that a friend of his be considered for an Indian agency.[36] In November Brouillet reported that an employee of the federal Indian office had offered to do clerical work at the Catholic bureau in the evenings. Because of this man's ability and his familiarity with that type of work the priest recommended that his request for an annual salary of $500 be met.[37] Regardless

[35] ABCIM, Ignatius Tomazin to J.B.M. Genin, O.M.I., White Earth, Minnesota, September 1, 1874, reported: "The Missionary Society of Vienna sent me 1000 florins, or $475 for my Indian missions." This Leopoldine Society was founded in Vienna, Austria, on December 8, 1828, under the sponsorship of Emperor Francis I, to aid the Catholic Church of the United States; cf. Theodore Roemer, O.F.M. Cap., *The Leopoldine Foundation and the Church in the United States, 1829-1839* (New York, 1933).

[36] *Ibid.*, Murphy to Ewing, Baltimore, October 7, 1874. *Ibid.*, Ewing to the Secretary of the Interior, Washington, November 6, 1874, copy, nominated James W. Callan, Murphy's friend, for the Grand River, Dakota Territory, Agency, but Callan was rejected.

[37] *Ibid.*, Brouillet to Ewing, Walla Walla, November n.d., 1874, recommended Joseph Loughran for the work.

of his worth the man was never hired, and the reason was the lack of money in the treasury of the Catholic Indian office.

Although any modern enterprise needs financial backing for success, the comparative dearth of it by no means halted operations at the Catholic bureau. Some attempts which had failed in the past were again renewed. For instance, the missionary who was attending to the Chippewa tribe sent a petition which had been authorized by his bishop, Michael Heiss of La Crosse, Wisconsin. Father Frank X. Pfaller said that the case had been covered completely more than a year before in Ewing's presentation to the Department of the Interior. He did remark that contrary to Brunot's answer to that petition, the Catholics among the tribesmen numbered almost 3,000 in comparison with about fifty non-Catholic Christians. The immediate complaint of the missionary was that Catholic children attending the government manual labor school at Odanah, Wisconsin, were not permitted to go to services in the Catholic church on Sundays, though this church was not 400 yards away.[38] No answer was made by the federal office to the complaints by Ewing. The whole issue was for the time being settled adversely when an assistant attorney general advised Delano that Catholics had no right to erect a house of worship upon the Yakima and Nez Percé reserves of the Northwest.[39] The notorious "boss" Tweed, who had been convicted the day before in New York, could scarcely have felt more depressed than the Catholic commissioner at this "Black Friday" ruling of November 20. Notwithstanding all this, apparently the program was working to the satisfaction of the President. In his annual message to Congress three weeks later Grant declared his Peace Policy was bringing many beneficial results.[40]

---

38 AUND, Pfaller to Ewing, Washington, D. C., September n.d., 1874.

39 ABCIM, W. H. Smith to Delano, Washington, November 20, 1874, copy furnished by the Department of the Interior. The opinion was based upon the treaty requiring the joint consent of the agent, the superintendent, and the Indians.

40 Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents,* IX, 4254, quoting message of December 7, 1874.

In assuming the new problem of the Osage Indians, living at the northeast corner of the Indian Territory, Ewing became involved in an incident which had all the trickery and thrills of a "cloak and dagger mystery." In January, 1873, a veteran Jesuit missionary, John Schoenmakers, appealed to Deshon for help. Nothing was done at the time because of the temporary nature of Deshon's work, so the following June the bishop of the territory renewed the request.[41] Later that year the Osages sent their own petition to the President. It brought no action by the chief executive but did inspire comment in newspapers on the Pacific as well as the Atlantic seaboards.[42] After the new year began Ewing presented a documented request that the Osages be assigned to Catholic care, principally on the ground that Schoenmakers had been faithfully attending them since 1847, or more than a quarter-century. The missionary himself, apparently figuring that any change would be for the better, had a letter published in which he advocated transfer of Indian administration to the War Department.[43] Toward the end of March, 1874, a delegation from the tribe came to Washington. The members told the President and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that they had been Catholics so long that "the memory of man runneth not back to the contrary," and that they earnestly desired to continue in that faith.[44]

41 ABCIM, Louis M. Fink, O.S.B., to Ewing, Leavenworth, Kansas, June 27, 1873. Fink said the Osages had been in the Vicariate of Kansas until their removal to Indian Territory, which was within the jurisdiction of Bishop Edward Fitzgerald, Little Rock.

42 *Ibid.*, A. S. Canville, Osage Indian, to J. B. A. Brouillet, Osage Agency, Indian Territory, September 30, 1873. The *Catholic Sentinel* (Portland, Oregon), September 19, 1873, reprinted editorial on this subject from the New York *Sun,* which it accompanied with an article entitled "Catholic Indians."

43 *Ibid.*, Ewing to Secretary of the Interior, Washington, January 23, 1874, copy. Cf. *Freeman's Journal,* February 28, 1874, published letter of Schoenmakers to J. A. McMaster, Osage Indian Mission, Neosho County, Kansas, February 11, 1874.

44 *Weekly Chronicle* (Washington, D. C.), March 29, 1874. In an article entitled "The Osage Indians," the paper said that these Indians had made a fine appearance and "these demands appear to us reasonable." *Ibid.,* April 12, 1874, in a long letter to the editor James Fullerton asked: "How happens it that these Catholic Indians are compelled to come to Washington to petition for the privilege of exercising rights solemnly guaranteed by two treaties? Does there exist in the Indian Office a 'Propaganda' hostile to Catholics?"

The story which people read in various newspapers at the time was far from complete, as subsequent correspondence revealed. In the longest of these communications Ewing informed the Archbishop of Baltimore that the delegation of Indians in native dress had come to ask that he prepare their petition. Since these Osages had learned to read and write in the school which had been conducted by the Jesuits, he told them it would be much more impressive to do it themselves. The next day the Indians returned with their petition (and a copy which they had made for Ewing), and he accompanied them to the Department of the Interior. Delano not being available, the Indians handed the written request for Catholic missionaries and teachers to the assistant secretary of the department, who promised to consult with the President and give them an immediate answer. After a Washington newspaper had carried the story of the delegation and printed the petition, the Indians were summarily taken from the city by their agent, Isaac T. Gibson. Following their departure another document countermanding the first was filed with the Department of the Interior. On hearing of the startling development Ewing had applied in person at the cabinet office for a copy of the first petition; it could not be found! The general vouched for the integrity of Benjamin Rush Cowen, the assistant secretary, and to the archbishop he simply stated that the reason for the disappearance of the paper was plain.[45] From the copy which had been given to him by the Indians Ewing fortunately had printed reproductions made. The assistant secretary certified it was a duplicate of the one he had originally read and placed it in the official file.[46] If such treatment was accorded educated, intelligent Indians in search of constitutional rights, Ewing asked what could their less able brethren expect.

---

45 ABCIM, Ewing to Bayley, Washington, April 28, 1874, copy.

46 *Catholic Telegraph* (Cincinnati), April 23, 1874, quoted the petition as having stated: "Religion among the whites is a matter of conscience and voluntary choice. It is so among our neighboring tribes and nations of the Indian Territory; it is so throughout all Christendom, and why should it not be so among the Osages?" Both Cowen and Ewing were natives of Ohio and Union generals during the Civil War.

Later Schoenmakers reported that there were only two names signed to the countermanding petition which belonged to the Osage tribe. Subsequently in a tribal council these two red men denied ever having signed the paper, and they made the declaration in the presence of Agent Gibson. Another plea for Catholic teachers was sent to Washington, more assemblies of the tribesmen were held during the summer, and in the capital Ewing first saw the President and Delano alone and then in company with George Deshon. But the spurious petition, despite the chorus of denials, proved to be the basis for rejection of the request that the Osages be entrusted to the Catholics, though Ewing took the blame to himself as not having devoted enough time to pushing the matter.[47] Despite these advices from the commissioner, the Indians and the aged Catholic missionary continued to bombard Washington with pleas for rectification—but without results. The next year the Board of Indian Commissioners report included a protest from Agent

---

[47] ABCIM, Alexander Bujett to Ewing, Osage Reserve, I.T., May 20, 1874; Schoenmakers to Ewing, Osage Mission, Neosho County, Kansas, June 24, 1874; Brouillet to Ewing, Montreal, July 1, 1874, added postscript: "Please do not forget nor neglect the Osages"; Ewing to Brouillet, Washington, July 7, 1874, said Grant and Delano were out of the city but "as soon as they return I will present the Osage matter & push it hard, and it shall go hard with me & them if I do not succeed"; Schoenmakers to Ewing, Osage Mission, Neosho County, Kansas, July 20, 1874, invited Ewing to a council of the Osages on August 2; Ewing to Deshon, Washington, October 7, 1874, asked the Paulist to go with him to the President about the Osage agency, "probably the most important agency in the eastern territories"; Ewing to Brouillet, Washington, November 9, 1874, copy, advised that Deshon would be in Washington the next week to go with him to the President about the Osages; Governor Joe Pah-ne-no-pah-sha to Schoenmakers, Osage Agency, I.T., October 11, 1874, expressed fear that the agent was squandering the hundreds of thousands of dollars of Osage money which the federal government was turning over to him; Pah-ne-no-pah-sha to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Osage Agency, I.T., October 17, 1874, copy. In the writer's judgment these constitute the most important of the bulky file regarding this case in ABCIM.

Gibson against articles critical of his conduct which had appeared in what he called "the mercenary and partisan press."[48]

By the summer of 1874 a problem arose which was of more lasting importance than any individual case or even the financing of the bureau. Father Brouillet had come to Washington in December, 1872, for an estimated three months, and a year and a half later it was apparent that he must return to the Diocese of Nesqually. The previous February Bishop Blanchet had told Ewing that both the need of his services and the poverty of the diocesan treasury demanded the recall of his vicar general. The bishop had been more correct than he realized when he asserted that Brouillet had become occupied to a greater extent with matters of general interest than with the business of Nesqually.[49] Before departing for the Northwest the priest went to Montreal to arrange for sisters to teach at the Devil's Lake agency in Dakota Territory. As he started westward snatches from his letters revealed how diversified in content and in geography his interests had become. From the Grey Nuns of Montreal he turned to the vicar apostolic and his Indians in Arizona; and then to the Middle West in requesting Ewing to send copies of his circular to certain people in Illinois. He may have visited the agencies in the Dakotas from a stop-over in Nebraska. If not, he spoke with many people in Omaha who were familiar with the intimate details of these reservations. From the far Northwest he wrote about an inventor whose legal affairs Ewing was handling in Washington. The results of the "off-year" elections Brouillet interpreted as favorable to the cause of Catholic Indian missions. For the

---

48 *C.I.A., 1875* (Washington, 1875), pp. 277-278, printed letter of Isaac T. Gibson to Edward P. Smith, Osage Agency, I.T., Ninthmonth (*sic*) 1, 1875. For a more detailed treatment of particular aspects of the Osages, cf. Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald, S.C.L., "The Osage Missions: A Factor in the Making of Kansas," unpublished doctoral dissertation, St. Louis University (1936); William White Graves, *Life and Letters of Reverend Father John Schoenmakers, S.J., Apostle of the Osages* (Parsons, Kansas, 1928).

49 AAS, A.M.A. Blanchet to Ewing, Vancouver, February 25, 1874, copy; cf., AAB, 41-C-13, Blanchet to Bayley, Vancouver, June 15, 1873, for a previous request for Brouillet's return.

opening of Congress in December the priest urged his friend and associate in the capital to assist the Commissioner of Indian Affairs with legislation which would have placed Indian reservations under the civil laws of the United States.[50] Yet the multiplicity of Brouillet's concerns simply demonstrated the many aspects of Indian welfare with which he had become familiar since his arrival in the Northwest in 1847.

The depleted state of the Catholic bureau's treasury and Brouillet's personal poverty made the expense of the trans-continental journey burdensome. After some delay Bishop Blanchet had succeeded in raising $200 for this purpose more than a year before, and no mention was made of his again supplying the funds when the priest finally left Washington in September of 1874. From Chicago Brouillet thanked Ewing for a railroad pass which the general had secured for him for passage there from the East. From a friend in the Illinois city he had secured a reduced fare for his journey to Omaha and he had hopes for another reduction from Nebraska to Ogden, Utah. However, he must have hoped for even better arrangements, for he announced his departure from the Missouri River city, "whether with or without a pass tomorrow will decide." The last word on this subject from far-distant Vancouver was that the whole trip had been made at a lost of $125, which was characterized as "cheap enough."[51]

When his return to Washington seemed to be at least a possibility Brouillet immediately wrote Ewing that he might need up to $200 for the expense, and asked if he might draw on his friend for that amount. In this emergency the Washington attorney was without money for the trip of the co-worker he wanted so badly. Several times during that year Ewing had mentioned that he was using his own money to pay expenses of

---

[50] EC, Brouillet to Ewing, Walla Walla, December 7, 1874. The Protestant Episcopal Church, led by Bishop Whipple, Bishop William H. Hare, and William Welsh, also favored considering the Indians as citizens of the United States; Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren,* pp. 33-34.

[51] EC, Brouillet to Ewing, Chicago, September 25, 1874; ABCIM, same to same, Vancouver, October 15, 1874.

the bureau. At this time apparently both his own and the funds of the organization were entirely depleted.[52] In the same mail appeals were sent to New York and to Baltimore. The request to the Catholic Union of New York going unanswered, from this date no more attempts were made to secure donations from that group. To Bayley Ewing had suggested that the archbishop recommend the financing of the trip as a charity to one of the Catholic societies of his see. A reply was not found, but on the back of Ewing's letter Bayley made the notation that he had sent the money himself. As he concluded, there was "no use in endeavoring to get it out of the societies or anyone else in Balt[imore]." Ewing had previously suggested that

---

52 ABCIM, same to same, Vancouver, December 17, 1874; Ewing to Brouillet, Washington, n.d. [December 26, 1874], copy, said: "I had no money but I did not want to telegraph not to draw on me." Ewing had mentioned that he was pressed for funds: *ibid.*, Ewing to Henry J. Anderson, Washington, January 9, 1874; Ewing to William J. Hughes, Washington, September 24, 1874; Ewing to John Murphy & Co., Washington, October 6, 1874, all copies. It is difficult to determine definitely the personal finances of Ewing. In an interview on October 27, 1951, at Silver Spring, Maryland, Mr. John K.M. and Miss Eleanor Ewing, son and daughter of the general, said their father resigned from the army in 1869 upon receiving notice of a transfer to Dakota Territory. He was immediately successful upon resuming his law practice in Washington, and on December 18, 1870, he married Virginia Larwill Miller, daughter of the Honorable John K. Miller, Representative from Ohio; *Discourse on General Charles Ewing,* by Monsignor Peter Guilday, at the reinterment of the general's body in Arlington National Cemetery on October 17, 1935. His father wrote that he could let him have $6,000, but asked that if possible the advance be in three annual payments; LC, Ewing Papers, Thomas Ewing to Charles Ewing, Lancaster, Ohio, September 20, 1871; Thomas Ewing, former Senator from Ohio, Secretary of the Interior, and Secretary of the Treasury, died the following October 26; Lancaster *Gazette,* November 3, 1871. Mesplié said he would send the name of a man who was honest and capable to represent the bishops in Washington, but because he was poor a salary of 100 *piastres* per month would have to be paid him; AAP, Mesplié to F. N. Blanchet, Washington, May 24, 1872. For the time being Blanchet did not approve the idea, so there is no record of the man's name. Ewing's son and daughter said this could not have been their father, for he never received a cent for his services to the bureau and, moreover, he contributed office space and the services of his law clerk. Anna McAllister, *Ellen Ewing, Wife of General Sherman* (New York, 1936), p. 359, also said Ewing received no compensation. However, in addition to his inability to forward Brouillet's traveling expenses in December, 1874, he wrote Brouillet the following April that he had had to drop the work of the bureau temporarily because he was not a man of means, and both the bureau and his family depended on his private business for support; ABCIM, Ewing to Brouillet, Washington, April 3, 1875, copy.

Bayley appoint Brouillet chaplain for the Little Sisters of the Poor in Washington in order to provide for his living expenses in the capital, in the event the priest returned from the Northwest.[53] Apparently no assurance was given to that effect, for in sending Brouillet Baltimore's check, the general asked him to write to one of the pastors in Washington to obtain permission for at least temporary residence. As usual, the general ended with the cheery conviction that Archbishop Bayley would provide something, and that was sufficient for Brouillet.[54]

The cause of Father Brouillet's return to the Northwest had been the decision of his bishop that he could not be spared to work in Washington. That judgment had been made in spite of an eloquent appeal by Ewing in an effort to fend off the recall which had already been rumored. The newly-appointed head of the Catholic bureau first of all had given Bishop Blanchet a summary of what had been accomplished. Then he stressed the necessity for continued, expanded effort in order to retrieve the ground which had been lost since the commencement of the Peace Policy. Ewing said that he felt qualified for the work because of his wide acquaintance in official circles, his position as a successful attorney, and his willingness to sacrifice his professional and personal interests for the sake of the Church and the Indians. But his own labors and the work of all others who had participated would be lost without the continued presence of Brouillet. In the words of Ewing, "I can in truth, and I must in duty say, that the severest blow that can be struck at our Indian Missions would be an order that would deprive this office of the services of Father Brouillet."[55] Nine months later the commissioner had confessed that he would have been forced to give up his position with the bureau had it not been for the invaluable and unrequited assistance of the priest. And while his return was still being weighed

53 ABCIM, Ewing to Catholic Union of New York, Washington, n.d. [December 23, 1874], copy; AAB, 43A-E-3, Ewing to Most Rev. and Dear Sir [Bayley], Washington, n.d. [December 23, 1874].

54 *Ibid.*, Ewing to Brouillet, Washington, n.d. [December 26, 1874], copy.

55 AAS, A.M.A. Blanchet to Ewing, Vancouver, February 25, 1874, copy; Ewing to Blanchet, Washington, January 22, 1874.

the commissioner told Bayley about the great amount of business which had accumulated in Brouillet's absence, which he said could not be disposed of without the help of the priest.

Brouillet could not have been optimistic about being reassigned to duty in Washington, for on his westward journey he spoke of his successor. Upon his arrival at Vancouver he reported that Archbishop Blanchet favored his being in the office at the capital, but the man with whom the decision rested, Bishop Blanchet, was opposed. December had been a month of crisis for representation in Washington the preceding two years. First in 1872 an agent had been sought to succeed Deshon, and in 1873 Ewing awaited the approval of Baltimore for a bureau in place of a lone intermediary for the bishops. The pattern was followed in 1874, as Brouillet advised on December 7 that he was going to see his bishop the following day in regard to his future field of action. He added, "I expect quite a stormy time."[56] But the settlement was not accomplished so speedily as was anticipated, for ten days later Brouillet had no more than a faint expectation of being allowed to return. That flicker of hope flamed into reality as he read his bishop's letter on December 23, authorizing him to return to Washington to devote himself to the interests of the missions in general as well as the special concerns of the Diocese of Nesqually. Blanchet made specific reference to the bureau being responsible for both support and travelling expenses, a concern with which Ewing was at that time much occupied in Washington.[57] Inasmuch as this permission was exactly what he had wanted, Brouillet must have regarded it as a Christmas gift from his bishop, and on that joyous feast he sent the good news to Charles Ewing.[58] Blanchet had advised that another priest would be appointed in Brouillet's place at Walla Walla to serve until his return, but that was never to happen. The remaining

56 EC, Brouillet to Ewing, Walla Walla, December 7, 1874.

57 AAS, Blanchet to Brouillet, Vancouver, December 23, 1874, copy; *ibid.*, the day before Bishop Blanchet had drawn up for Brouillet a *celebret*, an ecclesiastical document testifying his good standing in the diocese and asking that he be granted the privilege of offering Mass.

58 EC, Brouillet to Ewing, Vancouver, December 25, 1874.

years of Brouillet's life (he died February 5, 1884) were to be devoted to the Catholic Indian bureau.

The justifiable fear of not being permitted to go back to Washington had at no time been reflected by any lessening of Brouillet's interest in the Catholic bureau. Reference has been made to the numerous reminders he sent to Ewing from afar about individual cases or general policy. In addition, the priest did something positive to alleviate the pressing problem of financial support for the office in the capital. Apparently he had prepared a lecture for delivery on the west coast, and he decided to have the talk printed in pamphlet form after it had been published in the *Catholic Sentinel*. Armed with these booklets and with the approval of the respective bishops, he proposed that he or someone else should visit the principal cities of the country to arouse active support. From this first idea he progressed to having the lecture printed as an appeal from the two Blanchets and in their name. Probably Francis Blanchet had an important part in the final composition, for the product to some degree is reminiscent of the archbishop's letters of 1871 to federal executives in Washington. Moreover, the Oregon prelate wrote two circular letters to the clergy to urge the adoption of the proposals contained in the pamphlet. In the second of these letters Archbishop Blanchet digressed to quote Secretary Delano as having told Ewing that the moment he granted the requests to the commissioner for agency reassignments, all of the Protestant churches would fall on him and put him out of office.[59]

In the pamphlet itself the charge was made that the federal government had become the unconscious tool of enemies of religious freedom. Several instances of the imposition of unwanted religions upon Catholic Indians were recounted. The conclusion was that this system was leading to state-churchism, for thereby the civil power would become the source of spiritual authority. Hence self-interest in the protection of their own

---

[59]ABCIM, Blanchet to 'Right Rev. Sir,' Portland, December 24 and 26, 1874.

constitutional rights was held up to white Catholics as an incentive for charity to their red brethren. The positive actions suggested included a better understanding of the Indian question, a unified stand by the Catholic press, wise and prudent use of the ballot box, and donations to what was called the Catholic Indian Fund. Ten cents from each Catholic or one dollar annually from every family was the contribution proposed. From the proceeds the Church would match the expenditures in Indian work up to $100,000 by some of the Protestant denominations. Sixteen printed pages were given to the expansion of these arguments, all of which had as their basis the right of the Indian to choose for himself the religion he would believe and practice. One observer had called this pamphlet a rather hectic view of actual conditions, although granting that there was ground for the contention that novel and strange theories had been introduced into the administration of the federal Indian policy.[60]

In the initial flush of enthusiasm over securing permission to continue his labors in Washington Father Brouillet had fixed the first week of January for his departure for the East, with a stop-over intended for San Francisco. Instead of securing a priest from Canada to replace him Bishop Blanchet was promised a clergyman by his brother. With that obligation taken care of the Bishop of Nesqually confirmed to Ewing that he was willingly making the sacrifice of his vicar general to promote the common good.[61] The installation of his successor and then an ice storm consumed more time than Brouillet had expected, and so it was still from Washington Territory that he advised that his bishop had granted him an indefinite leave

---

60 [J.B.A. Brouillet], *Address of the Catholic Clergy of the Province of Oregon, to the Catholics of the United States* (Portland, Oregon, 1874). Apparently Brouillet sent a copy east prior to the issuance of the pamphlet by Archbishop Blanchet, for almost an entire page of the *Freeman's Journal* was used to print the full text on December 5, 1874. Cf. Rushmore, *The Indian Policy During Grant's Administrations,* pp. 29-30.

61 AAS, A.M.A. Blanchet to Ewing, n.p., January 16, 1875, copy. There were only nine diocesan priests in all Washington Territory in 1875; *Sadliers' Catholic Directory, Almanac, and Ordo, 1875* (New York, 1875), pp. 257-258.

of absence for as long as he was useful to the Catholic commissioner. Raising funds for the successful continuance of that work must have been the subject of considerable thought, for he soon had methods for implementing his "Oregon Address." In addition to the general appeal, he drew up plans for securing contributions from schools, benevolent societies, and from an association of charitable ladies. Brouillet must have regarded the women as the best disposed toward the Indians, for only from them, of the three groups, did he expect one dollar, the ten cent donation being the quota for the others. He intended to organize these societies in the Northwest before he left, and then to do the same in San Francisco on his journey.[62] He had already won the highest episcopal approbation through letters which Archbishop Blanchet had sent to all the bishops of the United States.

On February 9, just about a month later than originally intended, Brouillet started for Oregon and California.[63] Late in February he made his first report from San Francisco. A week's survey had convinced him that Archbishop Alemany was friendly to the cause of the Catholic Indian bureau but determined to control the method of collection. He had promised a donation personally, but the priest regretted that he could not solicit funds himself. "If I were only let free to act," he lamented, "it would take but a few days to secure one or two thousand dollars."[64] Ewing encouraged him to continue his campaign there and in other dioceses on the way to Washington. The general thought that the bishops of every large diocese should each give at least $1,000 annually for the cause, an expectation which was not to be realized during the lifetime of either of the correspondents. After nearly two months at the Golden Gate Brouillet reported that the Archbishop of San Francisco had decided that lectures would be the best method

62 EC, Brouillet to Ewing, Vancouver, January 24, 1875.

63 AAS, Brouillet to Father [Thomas] Duffy, Walla Walla, February 8, 1875, said: "I am leaving in the morning for the East."

64 ABCIM, Brouillet to Ewing, San Francisco, February 22, 1875, mentioned: "I have been here one week already."

of raising funds, and a priest was being sought to take charge of the program. Obstacles to that plan were encountered, for Brouillet decided to stay himself for the time being or, as he said, nothing would be done. The former United States senator, Eugene Casserly, recommended a society of a hundred wealthy gentlemen be formed, with each contributing twenty dollars; but Alemany was adamant about lectures being the one method employed in his archdiocese.[65]

Ewing admitted that, due to poor health and anxiety over his personal finances, he had done little more during the winter than maintain the standing of the Catholic bureau with the Department of the Interior. Nevertheless, the priest must have been glad to receive the one letter which broke the unilateral correspondence.[66] Brouillet's own intention of reaching Washington by the end of January had long since been put aside. It was not until well past mid-April that something more

---

[65] *Ibid.*, same to same, San Francisco, April 6 and 10, 1875.

[66] *Ibid.*, Ewing to Brouillet, Washington, April 3, 1875, copy. Brouillet had written five times from San Francisco before Ewing replied; *ibid.*, February 22 and 24, March 10, 22, and 29, 1875. At other times the general exasperated his correspondents by his slowness in answering letters; e.g., EC, all Brouillet to Ewing, Washington: August 21, 1873, said: "for God's sake do not forget"; August 23, 1873, said: "I received the memorandum only yesterday, though promised for last Tuesday"; August 30, 1873, said: "I am sorry you forgot me another time; for mercy sake be quick this time"; September 1, 1873, said: "not a moment to lose. Your sleep ought to be over"; September 5, 1873, said: "I have been uneasy at some too long and unnecessary delays. We have lost by such delays our opportunity." EC, Deshon to Ewing, New York, December 1, 1873, said: "Can you not drop me a line of information and instruction?" EC, Aegidius Junger to Ewing, Vancouver, September 30, 1873, remarked about some questions which Ewing had forgot to send: "It seems to His Lordship that they cannot be of very great importance and absolute necessity from the fact that you forgot sending them." The same experience was repeated after Junger became Bishop of Nesqually; e.g., AAS, Junger to Brouillet, Vancouver, May 13, 1882, copy, said: "Do all you can to hurry him up [Ewing]." *Ibid.*, same to same, Vancouver, June 25, 1882, said he had been waiting for three months for a reply from Ewing and asked: "Please hurry him up." *Ibid.*, same to same, January 31, 1883, copy, asked: "What is the matter with Gen. Ch. Ewing? I wrote him a few weeks ago and no answer." Sister Consuella Maria Ford in her "St. James' Mission Claim," Vancouver, Washington, unpublished master's thesis, Seattle College (1946), p. 52, observed: "Bishop Junger was of the opinion that General Charles Ewing. . .was not sufficiently insistent on bringing the case to a close. Ewing corresponded but seldom and then never in detail."

tangible than prospects and promises came from his fund-raising campaign. Undoubtedly with Alemany's permission, he secured more than $260 in San José, but this minor success prompted him again to rue the episcopal prohibition of his personal solicitation in San Francisco. Further remorse was occasioned by his reading a circular letter which Archbishop Blanchet had sent to the Oregon clergy in February. Brouillet felt it would inhibit rather than promote co-operation because of over-insistence on supporting Indian missions.[67] Another month was spent in seeking to induce prompt and active measures from Alemany without tangible success, though Brouillet did double the deposits he had made to the credit of the bureau. The California archbishop never took kindly to the formation of an association whereby small donations would be made regularly to an Indian fund. A year later he was still favoring his own idea of three or four lectures by eminent orators as the best means of raising money.[68] While other bishops later made similar proposals, no great fruit was ever derived from the plan; one priest went on a speaking tour without collecting much more than his scanty expenses. Otherwise the idea remained strictly theoretical, principally because of the lack of good speakers who were both available and acquainted with the Indians and the Catholic missions for them.

During Brouillet's sojourn on the west coast the fourth annual conference of the Board of Indian Commissioners with the representatives of the missionary societies was held in Washington. The previous year Father Deshon had become very much aroused upon receiving at eleven o'clock an invitation to the conference which was to begin at ten o'clock. That, however, proved to have been merely an omission of the proper date of the meeting by the secretary of the Board of Indian

---

67 ABCIM, Brouillet to Ewing, San Francisco, April 22, 1875 (two letters). The circular letter of February n.d., 1875, was printed in the *Catholic Sentinel,* March 5, 1875.

68 *Ibid.,* J[oseph] S. Alemany to Ewing, San Francisco, August 7, 1876.

Commissioners.[69] For 1875 no record was found that a Catholic was invited, despite Ewing having presented to Delano the letter of his official appointment by Bayley on January 2, 1874. At the January 13 council Inspector Edward C. Kemble called attention to two attempts, both by Catholic missionaries, to enter reservations assigned to other religious bodies. Kemble declared he had the highest regard for the effectiveness of the work done by the Catholics, citing the remarkable progress at Devil's Lake Reservation as an example. But, he added, the entry of a second religious body on a reservation "is a great obstruction in the way of our work in the agency referred to, and, if possible, it should be obviated in the future." The recommendation of the inspector had long since been enforced at a California reservation, and the subject was being discussed hotly in the Catholic press.[70] Brouillet made a personal investigation while he was in California, and thus the case became a celebrated, if not a successful episode in the work of the bureau in Washington.

From 1870 a Mexican priest, Luciano Osuna, traveled the northern part of California as an itinerant missionary, directing his attention principally to the Indians. Even before that time he had visited Upper California occasionally. At the Round Valley Reservation in that district he was so well regarded that Agent S. G. Whipple invited him to use his own bed

---

69 RBIC, L.S., November, 1873, to November, 1874, p. 252, Thomas K. Cree, Secretary, to Reverend George Deshon, Washington, December 29, 1873; *ibid.*, p. 276, same to same, Washington, December 31, 1873, corrected the invitation to "January 14, 1874" instead of "on Wednesday." ABCIM, Deshon to Ewing, New York, December 31, 1873.

70 *B.I.C., 1874* (Washington, 1875), pp. 137-138. Cf. *The Pilot* (Boston), January 16, 1875, in a front page article, "The Indians," claimed that the previous disregard for the rights of Catholics had led to the expulsion of Father Osuna from the Methodist agency. It reported that the Indians protested and went to Washington to see the President. Grant referred them to the Secretary of the Interior, who denied the petition. When asked his reason, Delano replied: "Because I have the power." This same journal, February 13, 1875, reviewed the Round Valley case and other complaints, enumerated the agencies claimed by the Church which had been assigned to others but no missionary had ever appeared, and charged that active measures were being taken under the administration's program to hamper or drive out Catholics from Indian work.

while the agent slept on a buffalo robe on the floor. But no sooner had Deshon taken temporary charge of Catholic Indian affairs in 1872 than Eugene O'Connell, Bishop of Grass Valley, California, sent him two protests about the forcible exclusion of Osuna from this Round Valley Reserve. Apparently no formal complaint was lodged with the Indian Department at that time, but in April, 1874, the new agent reported that he had expelled the missionary from the reserve the previous October when he had entered "for purposes unknown to me." On March 29 Agent John L. Burchard had Osuna arrested; later he reported that the priest was being held in jail for trial on a charge of malicious mischief.[71] When Ewing heard of the incident, he took legal exception to the action. Court precedents were cited that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and not the agent must judge the propriety of having any person removed from an Indian reservation.[72]

Commissioner Smith responded to the protest by directing Burchard to suspend all action, and at the same time Smith requested Inspector William Vandever to make a full investigation.[73] Under oath Osuna gave his version of the happenings, the deposition having been taken on June 6. Therein Osuna stated that Butcher [Burchard] had had him arrested the previous November, and after he had been brought to the agent's office, Burchard had struck him several times with his cane. Osuna had been taken before a magistrate and charged with insanity, but the judge dismissed the case on the ground that no proof was offered. On several subsequent visits to the

---

71 RBIA, L.R., California, 1874, B 529, Reverend J. L. Burchard to Edward P. Smith, Office Round Valley Indian Agency, California, April 10, 1874. *Ibid.*, B 555, same to same, Round Valley Reservation, California, April 18, 1874.

72 *Ibid.*, Special Case 43, Ewing to Edward P. Smith, Washington, May 2, 1874.

73 *Ibid.*, L.S., California, 1874, No. 118, p. 148, E. P. Smith to Vandever, Washington, May 7, 1874, requested a complete investigation and added: "Agt. Burchard had been directed to suspend all action in regard to said Osuna." ABCIM, Smith to Ewing, Washington, May 7, 1874; *ibid.*, Ewing to Bishop O'Connell, Washington, May 13, 1874, copy; *ibid.*, Ewing to Reverend H[ugh] P. Gallagher, Washington, June 3, 1874, copy.

Indians Osuna had been locked up for various periods of time. On his last call Burchard again had him arrested, and this time he had been taken to Ukiah, nearly sixty miles away, with the priest walking nearly the entire distance. Again the county judge dismissed the charge of insanity after two physicians who had examined Osuna testified there was no ground for the allegation.[74]

Though Burchard had told Smith that he welcomed an investigation, apparently no formal report was filed.[75] While Brouillet was in California he had Osuna make another deposition, which covered his attempt to enter Round Valley the previous August of 1874. In reply to his request to use the school house to teach the Indians and administer the sacraments, Burchard had referred him to three officials of the Methodist Church who were then present. These men had refused his petition and threatened him with arrest, Osuna declared, but when he asked for a written refusal of the use of the school house they would not give it to him.[76] Brouillet's interest undoubtedly had been quickened by word he had received from Agent John A. Sims at Colville, a reservation assigned to the Catholics in northern Washington Territory. On January 3 Sims reported he had been notified by a Protestant minister that Commissioner Smith had authorized him to enter the Colville agency as a teacher. Brouillet twice wrote to Washington that the Catholic bureau had no objection to the Protestants establishing as many schools as they wished on Catholic agen-

---

74 ABCIM, deposition of Luciano Osuna, sworn and subscribed before John Hamill, notary public of Mendocino County, California, on June 6, 1874. Osuna was arrested in 1870 in California on a charge of insanity, which was based upon his wearing sandals and a religious garb which was unfamiliar to his neighbors. A Protestant attorney volunteered to defend him, and Osuna was acquitted; Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *The Franciscans in California* (Harbor Springs, Michigan, 1897), pp. 469-470.

75 RBIA, L.R., California, 1874, B-714, Burchard to E. P. Smith, Round Valley Reservation, California, June 9, 1874.

76 ABCIM, deposition of Luciano Osuna, sworn and subscribed before John Hamill, notary public of San Francisco, February 18, 1875. *Ibid.*, Brouillet to Ewing, San Francisco, February 22, 1875, advised: "I have with me the papers needed in the case of Father Luciano Osuna and we will be prepared to act in that case as soon as I reach Washington."

cies, but that the same treatment was expected in regard to Catholic missionaries. The unqualified statement of the priest is in accord with the statement of a twentieth-century writer that the Church for several years was the sole advocate of religious freedom for Indian workers.[77] Probably inspired by Brouillet, Alemany and O'Connell promptly filed an application for permission to establish a Catholic mission on the Round Valley Reservation from which Osuna had repeatedly been expelled.

Upon Brouillet returning to Washington his personal contacts inspired the taking of the long delayed testimony of Agent Burchard in regard to Osuna's charges. Burchard's statement was an admission of the facts of Osuna's deposition. However, he cited causes which he had deemed sufficient for using force, principally the eccentric appearance of the missionary and his refusal to obey orders to stay off the reservation. The agent made extended references to Osuna in his sworn testimony having called him Mr. Butcher instead of Burchard, and to having given November 5 as the date of the violent attack instead of October (no date).[78] A much longer and aroused response came from both Burchard and Inspector Vandever when they learned of the application of the Catholic bishops for the establishment of a mission. If Catholic missionaries were admitted, the Methodists would have to give up the reservation, Burchard said. Moreover, he asserted that the government did not have the right to set apart money for a denominational education, for "state and church with us is (*sic*) separate." Vandever concurred fully, asserting that no good would come from granting the permission, and he continued: "The only judicious course in cases of this kind, is to require each

---

77 Priest, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

78 ABCIM, deposition of Burchard, sworn and subscribed before E. B. Bateman, United States Commissioner, Round Valley, California, June 15, 1875; attached were affidavits of James T. Brown, head farmer at Round Valley, June 15, 1875, and Joel Vann, herdsman at Round Valley, June 16, 1875, "both Christian men"; Vandever to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, San Francisco, June 4, 1875; RBIA, L.R., California, Round Valley, Vandever to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dubuque, Iowa, July 2, 1875, copies furnished by the Department of the Interior.

religious denomination to confine their efforts to the reservations especially assigned to them."[79]

The summer passed without the Catholic commissioner's office knowing what had taken place officially. In October copies of the affidavits of Burchard, two of his employees, and of Vandever's recommendations finally were furnished when Ewing appealed to his fellow Ohioan, General Cowen. One authority has contended that the administration of Indian affairs was dominated by non-Catholics who were constantly urging positive action against Catholic Indian interests. The record shows that no action was taken in the Osuna case and the petition for a mission at Round Valley was rejected.[80] The reaction of the California bishops was general pessimism about the utility of any representation at all before the government. Bishop O'Connell asked a searching question about Agent Burchard's asserting in his affidavit and to Archbishop Alemany that Luciano Osuna was insane, when he wrote: "If the aforesaid priest were insane, why should he be flogged and calumniated by Burchard?" Later a writer gave the answer that "he probably mistook General Grant for Henry VIII, in taking him to be the Head of the Church." This was one of the few direct attacks by Catholics on Grant rather than on his subordinates.[81]

---

79 ABCIM, Burchard to Vandever, Round Valley, California, June 12, 1875; Vandever to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dubuque, Iowa, July 2, 1875, copies furnished by the Department of the Interior.

80 RBIA, Special Case 43, Ewing to B[enjamin] R. Cowen, Washington, September 28, 1875, called attention to Columbus Delano's letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, May 14, 1875, in which Delano said that he had found affidavits that the Reverend Luciano Osuna had been brutally treated by or at the direction of the agent at Round Valley Reservation. Delano said that such action was inexcusable and demanded an immediate investigation and report; Ewing asked for a copy of said report. The file bears the notation: "Copies furnished Mr. Ewing Oct. 2, 1875." Cf. Priest, *op. cit.*, p. 35. For a summary of Father Osuna's work in California, cf. Henry L. Walsh, S.J., *Hallowed Were The Gold Dust Trails* (Santa Clara, 1946), pp. 405, 408-409, 439.

81 ABCIM, E[ugene] O'Connell to Ewing, Marysville, California, October 4, 1875. Cf. John Gilmary Shea, "The Catholic Church in American History," *American Catholic Quarterly Review,* I (January, 1876), 166.

Brouillet's return to the capital did not avert a bitter disappointment to his own bishop, for the Secretary of the Interior refused to review his adverse decision of three years before on the St. James' Mission claim. This mission had been established in 1838, and when the land became part of Oregon Territory Congress in 1848 recognized the title of the Catholic mission to the section upon which the church and auxiliary buildings were located. Bishop Blanchet was both angered and puzzled by Secretary Delano, in 1875, acknowledging the claim of the Methodist Church to a mission site at The Dalles, Oregon, on the same basis as the St. James' Mission claim had been rejected in 1872.[82]

Other voices than that of the aged bishop were raised against the government's Indian policy, or rather the application of the program. A newspaper in the capital regarded the Indian policy as a complete failure, while a mid-western publication indicated its sentiment by the caption of a burning editorial, which was "God Help the Indian."[83] In September the same newspaper reported a charge by Governor Pah-ne-no-pah-sha of the Osage Indians that $200,000 of the tribe's money had disappeared in the last year with no one but Agent Isaac T. Gibson having received any benefit.[84] And the Chicago *Times,* in commenting upon the insistent petition of Chief Red Cloud of the Sioux for Catholic teachers and schools, queried: "If the Indian asks for this kind of spiritual meat, why give him a stone?" One writer to the editor of the *Freeman's Journal* wanted to know if the Catholics were permitted to nominate *any* Indian agents.[85] Another man who was in the Indian Bureau

82 EC, A.M.A. Blanchet, *Brief History of the St. James' Mission Claim,* pamphlet dated Vancouver, October 18, 1879.

83 Washington *Tribune,* June 21, 1875, "The Indian Policy"; *Western Watchman* (St. Louis), July 24, 1875.

84 *Western Watchman* (St. Louis), September 11, 1875, in an editorial entitled: "The Indians Clamoring for Catholic Missionaries." On March 3, 1875, Congress had passed an act requiring an Indian agent to give to his successor an itemized account of all expenditures, contracts, and receipts; *Stat. L.,* 18.451.

85 Chicago *Times,* October 8, 1875, under the heading, "Why Not Accommodate Them?" Cf. Sister Mary Augustine Kwitchen, O.S.F., *James Alphonsus McMaster* (Washington, 1949), pp. 203-204.

itself told of the suppression of facts in regard both to the Osage Indians and the mistreatment of Father Luciano Osuna.[86]

A little over a year after Felix R. Brunot and six other members of the Board of Indian Commissioners had resigned, Columbus Delano, who as Secretary of the Interior had been as much at odds with Catholic leaders as had Brunot, made his exit from the cabinet.[87] But the hopes of Secretary of State Hamilton Fish and others for a strengthening and improvement in the official household of the President were dashed by the naming of Zachariah Chandler as Delano's successor. Critics of the administration of Indian affairs had frequently suggested that the supervision of the red men be returned to the War Department, and Chandler as a Senator from Michigan had been among these advocates. Three weeks after he had assumed the post of Secretary of the Interior Chandler admitted that he had made a complete reversal, saying that being an executive officer caused him to regard the matter in a different light.[88]

Any thought that the position of the Catholic Church improved with the Grant administration through the withdrawal of Brunot and Delano would be erroneous. Though not aimed directly at the Catholic missions, the speech which the Presi-

[86] AUND, J[oseph] Loughran to [James A. McMaster], Washington, October 5, 1875.

[87] RBIC, L.R., Tray 118, Felix R. Brunot and six members: Robert Campbell, Edward S. Tobey, Nathan Bishop, William E. Dodge, John V. Farwell, and George H. Stuart; to the President of the United States, Philadelphia, May 27, 1874. *House Report No. 98,* 42nd Congress, 3rd sess.; *H. R. No. 778,* 43rd Congress, 1 sess., reported gross neglect within the Indian Bureau but did not charge Delano directly. E. J. Benton, in his article on Columbus Delano, in *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1930), V, 218-219, said that Delano was probably personally honest but devoid of high ideals. Nevins, *Hamilton Fish,* pp. 773-776, is far more critical in relating the last days of Delano in the cabinet and Grant's attempt to protect him. Baltimore *Sun,* September 26, 1875, printed Delano's letter of resignation, this one having been dated July 5, 1875; *ibid.,* September 22, 1875, printed Grant's letter of acceptance, in which the President praised the work of the Secretary of the Interior.

[88] Baltimore *Sun,* November 9, 1875. For a critical appraisal of Chandler's qualifications and Grant's secrecy in naming him, cf. Nevins, *op cit.,* pp. 778-781.

dent made to the Army of the Tennessee at Des Moines, Iowa, was interpreted generally as a thinly veiled attack upon the Church. It was delivered on September 29, 1875, exactly a week after Grant had accepted the resignation of his Secretary of the Interior. In itself the short talk was more an advocacy of public schools devoid of all religion, with instruction in matters of faith to be left to the family, the church, and the private school.[89] At the time, however, the President was credited with having struck at the Catholic Church, and in his seventh annual message to Congress in December Grant again spoke in favor of public schools and against religious schools. In addition, he advocated taxing all property belonging to institutions and churches except the churches themselves and cemeteries.[90]

If the Catholics were taken back by these remarks of the chief executive, Episcopalian Bishop Henry B. Whipple expressed himself as well satisfied with the Peace Policy of Grant toward the Indians, despite the clamor which had been raised against it. Under the heading, "Politics in the Pulpit," Grant's Methodist pastor, Dr. John P. Newman, was scored for a prayer which he had offered in Washington's Metropolitan Church. The prayer, which was said with Grant occupying the presidential pew, was construed as having reference to the school question in view of Newman's confidential relationship with the chief executive and the latter's speech in late September at Des Moines.[91]

If the President had in reality become hostile to the Catholic Church or to some of her institutions, friendly relations apparently continued between him and the Ewing family. In addition to the incidents which have already been mentioned, Grant had given his favorite horse, Jack, to Ellen Ewing Sherman to use as a prize in the promotion of one of her many

89 LC, Grant Papers, facsimile of original draft of the speech.

90 Richardson, *op. cit.*, X, 4288-4289. The amendment to the Constitution which Grant had recommended was introduced by Speaker James G. Blaine as *H.R. No. 1,* on December 14, 1875; *Congressional Record,* 44th Congress, 1st sess., p. 205.

91 Baltimore *Sun,* November 18 and October 17, 1875.

charities. Perhaps because of a rumor that the Indians of North America were to be placed by the Holy See under the supervision of an English bishop, in May of this same year (1875) General Ewing became interested in obtaining the governorship of the territory of New Mexico for himself. He asked the family friend, Archbishop Purcell, to use his influence to gain the appointment, President Grant already having approved of him for the office. However, though the incumbent was reputed to be a man of bad habits and no ability, Grant would not remove him but was waiting for him to resign voluntarily. Ewing made an observation which may have been the explanation for the contradictory actions of the chief executive when he wrote: "Grant is a hard man to move when he has for any, or for no reason taken a stand."[92] Though Purcell gave Ewing high praise in asking Cardinal McCloskey to exert his influence in favor of the New Mexico governorship, the appointment was not given to Ewing. The next September the possibility of Bishop Herbert A. Vaughan of Salford, England, being named by the Pope to have charge of the Indians was still current enough for a friend of Ewing's to write to McCloskey against its advisability. As the probability of the change lessened, the Catholic commissioner apparently decided to continue with the work he had undertaken for the red men.[93]

But presidential approbation would have paid no bills, and the pressing and immediate need of the Catholic Indian bureau was for funds with which to operate. From California by mail Brouillet had solicited the hierarchy for contributions, in order that replies might be had when he arrived in Washington. These letters from San Francisco brought two dona-

---

92 AANY, Ewing to Purcell, Washington, May 9, 1875. Ewing said that the fact the population of New Mexico was Catholic in a ratio of seventy to one was a telling factor in the defeat of its application for statehood in the preceding Congress. Cf. Burton, *Three Generations,* pp. 166-167.

93 *Ibid.,* Purcell to Eminence [John McCloskey], Cin[cinnati], May 12, 1875, wrote: "Gen. Charles Ewing is one of the noblest Catholic laymen in the United States." *Ibid.,* Ewing to McCloskey, Washington, May 13, 1875. *Ibid.,* A[lexander] J. Dallas to McCloskey, Washington, September 21, 1875.

tions, each for $200. Immediately after he came to the capital the priest wrote to others, but with very little response in actual cash.[94] Several bishops offered the same proposal as had been made by Alemany of San Francisco, namely, that Brouillet or some priest delegated by the bureau should raise the money in their territory by means of lectures or collections.[95] Brouillet promised Archbishop Williams that he would come to Boston in the fall of 1875, but apparently his duties in Washington never permitted his taking advantage of the invitation, at least in person. Favorable publicity in Catholic publications for the needs of the organization brought a few contributions by mail, but in the end these donations did not materially improve its finances.

Yet the year 1875 was the beginning of a plan from which more returns were to come than through any other channel of charity. From Vancouver in January the priest had said that an organization of women was a source from which he expected to obtain financial assistance. Concrete plans probably were made verbally after Brouillet had returned to the capital, and the ardent spirit of the sister of the Catholic commissioner, Ellen Ewing Sherman, was enlisted for this effort. At the first meeting on October 28, 1875, the Ladies' Catholic Indian Missionary Association of Washington was formed. The annual contribution agreed upon by the members was a dollar, which was to be collected through the formation of bands of fifteen. The leader of each group was to forward the donations to the treasurer of the Catholic Indian Fund, the Very Reverend J. B. A. Brouillet. After passing a resolution to appeal for like action by the Catholic women of the United States, the mem-

94 ABCIM, F[rancis] Mora to Brouillet, San Luis Ob., April 24, 1875, sent $200 but said that an annual donation would have to be decided by Bishop Amat; *ibid.*, August J. McConomy to Brouillet, Cincinnati, June 5, 1875, sent $200 for the ailing Archbishop Wood of Philadelphia; *ibid.*, Brouillet to 'Reverend Sir' [probably a circular letter to a number of bishops], Washington, June 10, 1875, copy, soliciting donations; *ibid.*, Brouillet to [Bishop] John J. Hogan, Washington, June 26, 1875, copy, thanking for donation.

95 *Ibid.*, John J. Williams to Brouillet, Boston, June 5, 1875; *ibid.*, M[ichael] Domenec to [Brouillet], Pittsburgh, June 7, 1875; *ibid.*, S[tephen] V. Ryan to Brouillet, Buffalo, August 9, 1875.

bers elected Mrs. Madeleine Vinton Dahlgren, Mrs. M. E. Woodward, and Mrs. C. W. Russell as officers of the association. The appeal itself called attention to the greater means supplied to non-Catholic denominations engaged in Indian work and asked that the Catholic women support the zeal of their own missionaries. Signers of the resolution were eighty-four in number, and attention was called to the position of their husbands in the listing of the names. Some of them were printed as follows: Mrs. Admiral Dalhgren, Mrs. Admiral Sands, Mrs. General Sherman, Mrs. General Ewing, and Mrs. Ex-President Tyler.[96]

From the nation's capital this association of Catholics spread first to the West, Mrs. Sarah Peter of Cincinnati sending the first contribution of her band of twenty-one ladies less than a month after the formation of the feminine auxiliary of the bureau in Washington. General and Mrs. Sherman having moved to St. Louis, the lady promptly obtained the permission of Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick to promote the work in the Missouri metropolis.[97] She started out by organizing two bands but soon expanded to secure wider support than even her intense individual activity could procure. First of all, Mrs. Sherman wrote an appeal in which she aptly called attention to the heroic missionary zeal of Father DeSmet, whose headquarters were in that city. On Washington's birthday, 1876, another unit of the Catholic Indian Missionary Association was organized. A month later the movement basked in the radiance of full clerical approval when the vicar general of the Archdiocese

---

96 EC, *Manual of Catholic Indian Missionary Associations*, a pamphlet printed by the Catholic Indian bureau, probably in 1876. Cf. *Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore), November 25, 1876, called attention to the society; *Freeman's Journal*, December 11, 1875, encouraged support of the organization which had just been formed in Washington. This last approval is noteworthy in view of later attacks by this newspaper.

97 ABCIM, Brouillet to Mrs. Sarah Peter, Washington, November 27, 1875, copy, thanked her for $21. The first collection of the original association in Washington had been of $82.35; *ibid.*, copy book; *ibid.*, Purcell to Mrs. Ellen Ewing Sherman, Cincinnati, November 25, 1875, promised: "We shall have words of encouragement for your work of charity, both in season and out of season." Cf. *Catholic Telegraph* (Cincinnati), November 25, 1875.

of St. Louis presided at the first full meeting, with a great number of the parish priests in attendance. Probably guided by Mrs. Sherman, the constitution of this society was more detailed than the rules and by-laws which had been adopted by the first group in Washington. Explicit mention was made that all funds collected were to be transmitted to the treasurer of the fund, Father Brouillet.[98] The interest of the priest in this branch was demonstrated by his journeying to St. Louis in May to give a lengthy lecture on the Indian missions, coupled with a strong appeal for enough financial support to permit continuation and expansion of the work. The St. Louis bands outstripped those of every other locality in 1876, for almost $2,000 was forwarded to Washington by Mrs. Winifred Patterson, the local treasurer, during that one year.[99]

Most of the credit for the success of the Missouri unit was due to Ellen Ewing Sherman, but in Washington Brouillet seized the opportunity presented by a letter of inquiry to start another successful unit in Philadelphia. The progress of the organization there was rapid, for the initial meeting of the Pennsylvania branch was held on February 3, 1876, less than a month after the first request for information by Miss Amanda F. A. Holohan. Fifty-two dollars was collected at the first meeting, and by the following May Miss Holohan was confidently predicting the formation of fifty bands of fifteen members each. Brouillet made only one or two visits to meetings of the association in Philadelphia, but Miss Holohan was a frequent and voluminous writer, keeping the official treasurer

---

98 *Status of the Catholic Indian Missions in the United States, 1876* [Baltimore, 1876], Section 5, 1-8. This was a compilation of publications of the bureau. In this same year, at the request of Archbishop Bayley, Mrs. Sherman took complete charge of a collection from the Catholics of the whole United States for a gift to Pope Pius IX on his golden jubilee. She thanked each contributor personally; Burton, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-231.

99 St. Louis *Dispatch*, St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, St. Louis *Journal*, and St. Louis *Evening Post*, all of May 23, 1876, gave summaries of the talk. It was published in full in the *Annals of the Catholic Indian Missions of America*, I (July, 1877), 29-41 (hereafter cited as *Annals*). Copies of the *Annals* have become rare. II, No. 3 is missing from the ABCIM, and LC has only I, No. 1 and 2, and II, No. 2.

fully posted on all happenings in connection with the Indian fund.[100] In other places the organizations were smaller, and usually neither so successful nor enduring. Yet in little Leonardtown, in St. Mary's County, Maryland, seven full bands of fifteen were formed, with colored persons having been admitted to membership with the approval of the local pastor. At the end of one year the associations of charitable ladies had been extended to twelve dioceses of the United States. Though the receipts from them were not tremendous in the aggregate, nevertheless, they were highly important to the bureau. The official figures showed that contributions by all sources from the beginning of the work in January, 1873, through 1876 had been about $8,600. In the one year the ladies' associations raised more than $6,000, or about three-quarters of all the donations.[101]

The comparative success of the ladies' associations did not inhibit the other ideas which Brouillet had conceived for raising funds for the bureau. He had originally proposed that the pupils in the Catholic schools, which Grant had by implication opposed, should be appealed to for the missionary work. In thanking the Bishop of St. Joseph, Missouri, for his donation Brouillet had urged that the sisters teaching in the parochial schools try to organize bands of children for this purpose.[102] The Religious of the Sacred Heart were the most active in following his suggestion, though at long intervals contributions came from other schools throughout the country. From at least two seminaries, St. Joseph's at Troy, New York, and Mount Saint Mary of the West at Cincinnati, regular remittances were forwarded, representing the offering of the students for the Catholic priesthood. The need for constant stim-

---

100 ABCIM, Holohan to Brouillet, Philadelphia, January 13, 1876; *ibid.*, Brouillet to Holohan, Washington, January 15, 1876, copy; *ibid.*, same to same, Washington, January 20, 1876, copy. *Catholic Standard* (Philadelphia), February 19, 1876, gave an extended report of the meeting and the names of the officers elected.

101 EC, *Report of the treasurer*, etc., *January, 1873 to December 1, 1876.*

102 ABCIM, Brouillet to John J. Hogan, Washington, June 26, 1875, copy.

ulation of interest, at least by letter, must have consumed a considerable portion of the treasurer's time. Then too, the minute individual donations of a couple of cents each month may have been inspiring, but such support could never be of major importance financially.

Archbishop Alemany had been the first to propose that the bureau should be supported through a series of lectures, and he repeated this suggestion several times. This idea was used by Brouillet to answer a request from a Jesuit missionary of the Northwest for money with which to maintain a school. In enthusiastic language he painted for Father Cataldo the prospect of traveling about the country, giving talks about the Indian missions with which he was familiar by actual experience. Upon the thousands of dollars which would thereby be obtained Brouillet promised that the priest's own mission in Idaho would have first call. In an effort to put the plan into effect Brouillet wrote the same day to the superior of the Jesuits in the Rocky Mountains and to his own Bishop Blanchet, appealing for their approval. No reply was found from any member of the Society of Jesus, and Blanchet determinedly said that the Diocese of Nesqually had made enough sacrifices for the cause.[103]

A number of the hierarchy could do no more than wish that the movement might be successful, since the needs of their dioceses were too pressing internally for them to approve even one collection for an outside cause. But the suggestion for lectures, or at least personal solicitation by himself or another whom he approved, came so persistently that Brouillet commissioned Father Jean F. Malo to undertake the scheme. Malo was qualified by his experience as a missionary in the same Northwest territory in which Brouillet had labored, and he made several of these collection tours through the eastern states. Malo was earnest, sincere, and so interested in the welfare of the red

---

[103] ABCIM, Joseph M. Cataldo to Brouillet, Lewiston, Idaho Territory, January 1, 1876; Brouillet to Cataldo, Washington, January 23, 1876; Brouillet to [Joseph] Giorda, S.J., Washington, January 23, 1876; Brouillet to A.M.A. Blanchet, Washington, January 23, 1876; AAS, Blanchet to Brouillet, Vancouver, February 29, 1876, all copies except the first.

men that in one capacity or another he made them his life's work. However, he had not acquired the facility in English that Brouillet had developed, and this probably was the source of a few misunderstandings with those who did not speak his Canadian French. The bureau's treasury was not augmented much by Malo's travels, at least directly. For example, his reports for a month of collecting in New England in 1878 showed a balance of fifty cents over his frugal traveling expenses![104]

At first the response of the Catholic clergy to the letters of Brouillet had been decidedly limited, but with the spread of knowledge of the bureau's work and the assistance of letters by Mrs. Sherman, the returns gradually, though very slowly, improved. Bishop James Gibbons, for instance, sent $20.00, though his Diocese of Richmond had comparatively few Catholics and no Indians at all.[105] Archbishop Bayley supplemented his co-operation and moral support with the most consistent of the financial contributions from the hierarchy. But all would have been donating to a lost cause, financially speaking, had it not been for the support engendered by the Catholic Indian Missionary Associations, and those principally of the women. Ewing, who ordinarily left the raising of money to his clerical co-worker, wrote to both the Archbishops of Boston and New York in June, 1876, to ask the encouragement of lay friends of the missions. He frankly told McCloskey that all other methods had proved ineffective, and, therefore, the sole chance of salvation of the Indians resided in the success of the work of

---

104 *Ibid.*, Ferd Wolf, O.S.B., to Brouillet, Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, October 25 and November 11, 1876, complained about reports of Malo to the bureau in regard to the collection in his parish; Malo to Brouillet, Pawtoket (*sic*), Rhode Island, March 2, 1878, gave results of collection. AAO, Martin Marty, O.S.B., to James O'Connor, New York, September 13, 1879, expressed a high opinion of Malo; cf. Duratschek, *Crusading Along Sioux Trails*, p. 277, for summary of Malo's work among the Indians from 1858 to 1904.

105 *Ibid.*, Gibbons to Miss Anna E. Smith, Richmond, February 7, 1876, sent $20 and applauded the good work; Anna E. Smith to Ewing, Washington, February 9, 1876, sent Gibbons' check and $7 of her own; Gibbons to Ewing, Richmond, May 13, 1876, stated his warm interest in the bureau.

the associations.[106] Inasmuch as all of these members were actuated by desire for a spiritual reward, it was proposed that a special blessing for them be asked of Pope Pius IX. Bayley requested Dr. Silas M. Chatard, rector of the North American College in Rome, to handle the matter for him, and in July the Holy Father granted the petition and approved a prayer for recitation by the members. In the publications of the bureau this apostolic benediction was fully publicized. The welcome with which it was received was indicated by the Philadelphia promoter offering to have the prayer printed herself for distribution among the members of that city, if Brouillet could not have the cards made up at once.[107]

Meanwhile in the centennial year of American independence the Republican Party was on the defensive as the multiple scandals of Grant's administration were gradually uncovered. Opponents and reformers from within the party both seized upon the Indian department as an apt starting point for eradication of abuses, and the discovery of proof that William W. Belknap, the Secretary of War, had sold Indian trading posts provoked immediate action in Congress. Several months before the revelations were made of Belknap's perfidy Brouillet had predicted that the Indian administration probably would be transferred to the War Department. Others in the Catholic mission work were convinced that the situation was bound to improve if this proposal originally made by the Peace Commission of 1867 was enacted.[108] The results of the Peace Policy

106 AANY, Ewing to McCloskey, Washington, June 24, 1876; ABCIM, John J. Williams to Ewing, Boston, July 1, 1876, replied to Ewing's letter of June 24 by saying: "I am ready and willing to encourage the organization of Indian Missionary Associations in my diocese."

107 *The Work of the Decade* (pamphlet of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions [Washington, 1884]), pp. 5-7, printed the petition of Bayley for the apostolic blessing, which Pius IX granted on July 16, 1876; also the prayer to be recited was printed, as approved by the Pope on July 20, 1876; cf. *Annals,* I (January, 1877), 6-8. ABCIM, Ewing to Reverend A[lfred] A. Curtis, Washington, October 2, 1876, copy, asked for the original of the papal approval; *ibid.,* Holohan to Brouillet, Philadelphia, November 8, 1876, requested that the prayers be printed on small cards which the members could carry in prayer books.

108 Nevins, *op cit.,* pp. 804-837. Cf. George E. Ellis, *The Red Man and the White Man in North America* (Boston, 1882), p. 560.

in effecting the christianization of the red men were considered lamentably poor, while Senator Lewis V. Bogy thought that economy alone was an adequate motive for the change, since the expense of Indian affairs had multiplied more than five times under Grant's policy. But after having been approved by the House of Representatives, the bill for the return of the Indian Office to the War Department was tabled by the Senate on June 21.[109] Had this action been deferred for a few more days it is possible that the news of Custer's massacre at the Little Big Horn on June 25 would have prompted a favorable vote on the measure. During this summer a pro-Catholic New York newspaper contended that the government Indian policy always had been "woe the weak;" the Democrats were to be preferred solely because they had not interfered with the Catholic missionaries.[110]

The 1876 presidential campaign, famous for its disputed outcome, in general lacked the violent attacks upon the Catholic Church which had marred the 1872 contest. But just as Hayes was willing that the "bloody shirt" be waved to keep voters in the Republican ranks, so he was ready to gain support through prejudice against the Church. He wrote to his adviser, Carl Schurz, that a satisfactory answer had been fashioned to the charge that the Ohio governor was sympathetic to the Know-Nothings. Still he did not want to alienate such a group entirely, and therefore he suggested that in return "we should set off against it the Gray [Grey] Nuns act of Tilden."[111] Hayes' strong advocate, the New York *Times,* had condemned

---

109 *Congressional Record,* April 21, 1876, gave the speech of Charles E. Hoocker, Mississippi, in favor of the transfer; among others who spoke for the same bill were James W. Throckmorton of Texas, Andrew R. Boone of Kentucky, William Terry of Virginia, Lafayette Lane of Oregon, William R. Steele of Wyoming, and H[enry] B. Banning of Ohio; *ibid.,* June 20, 1876. Bogy was from Missouri.

110 *Freeman's Journal,* July 22 and July 29, 1876.

111 LC, Carl Schurz Papers, R[utherford] B. Hayes to Schurz, Columbus, October 12, 1876. Cf. "American Catholics and Partisan Newspapers," *Catholic World,* XVI (March, 1873), 762, for review of the attacks on the Church during the 1872 campaign, especially by Eugene Lawrence in *Harper's Weekly.* For a summary of the 1876 contest cf. Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1878* (New York, 1927), pp. 314-317.

Governor Tilden as an ally of the "Romanists" for signing the legislative measure which empowered these sisters to grant diplomas in their schools. The authority had been withdrawn after a meeting of Methodist ministers had voted that the act should be repealed.[112] Before the candidates were selected a writer took umbrage at the Methodists having made the endorsement of Grant for a third term as part of the proceedings of a religious convention. The winner of the 1876 election was not named by the Senate until March 2, 1877. When Rutherford B. Hayes took office three days later as the nineteenth President, the Indian Peace Policy still was being administered by the Department of the Interior and not of War.

If it were true that sometimes the Catholic Church had been injured by the publication of unfavorable articles, the officials of the bureau more and more tried to employ this double-edged sword in their favor instead of against them. Sometimes individual releases were distributed, and for meetings of relatively greater importance a booklet in which all the circulars had been collected was distributed. In September, 1876, the energetic Brouillet gave several hundred pamphlets about the missionary enterprises to delegates at a convention of benevolent societies in Cleveland. A little over a month later he sent detailed instructions to the editor of a Catholic magazine about reprinting the bureau's releases in that publication.[113] The

[112] The so-called "Grey Nuns Act" had been passed May 15, 1875; *Laws of New York, 1875* (Albany, 1875), Chapter 353; it was repealed February 1, 1876; *Laws of New York, 1876* (Albany, 1876), Chapter 4, p. 3. New York *Times*, October 19, 1875 and January 18, 1876, were two among many articles and editorials. For a newspaper survey of anti-Catholic aid to Hayes in the Ohio gubernatorial campaign of 1875 as well as in the national campaign of 1876, cf. Sister Mary Angela Carlin, O.S.U., "The Attitude of the Republican Party toward Religious Schools, 1875-1880," unpublished master's thesis, The Catholic University of America (1948).

[113] ABCIM, Brouillet to Mrs. M[adeline] V. Dahlgren, Washington, August 21, 1876, copy, asked that delegates be sent by the Washington unit of the Catholic Indian Missionary Association. The same day similar requests were mailed to the presidents of the associations in St. Louis, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and Baltimore. *Ibid.*, R. F. Hunter to Brouillet, Washington, September 19, 1876, copy, advised that 250 more manuals, all that were on hand, had been sent for Brouillet to distribute at the convention. *Freeman's Journal*, October 7, 1876, contained the opening address to the delegates by Bishop Richard Gilmour. AUND, Brouillet to [Daniel E. Hudson, C.S.C.], Washington, November 2, 1876, sent instructions for articles in *Ave Maria*.

Vol. II. JULY, 1878. No. 2.

ANNALS

OF THE

Catholic Indian Missions

OF

AMERICA.

PUBLISHED BY THE
BUREAU OF CATHOLIC INDIAN MISSIONS.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Cover of the *Annals*, magazine published by the Catholic Bureau

Courtesy of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions

Heft 1. Juli 1877. No. 1.

Annalen

der

Katholischen

Indianer-Missionen

von

Amerika.

Herausgegeben vom
Bureau der katholischen Indianer-Missionen.
Washington, D. C.

Cover of the first edition in German of the *Annals*

Courtesy of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions

most ambitious single effort in this direction was the issuance of the *Annals of the Catholic Indian Missions of America,* which commenced in January, 1877. In the size of a small magazine, the *Annals* were compilations of articles or letters from Indian missionaries, financial reports of the Indian missionary associations, and frequent contributions from the pen of Brouillet himself. Everything printed was intended not alone to foster interest in the welfare of the Indians, but especially to induce the readers to support the missionaries by prayers and by donations. The leader of each band of fifteen in the auxiliary associations was given a copy of the semi-annual magazine. This limitation of the number of copies, however, caused some misunderstanding by those who expected any quantity to be furnished without charge.

To satisfy German-speaking patrons of the bureau and its enterprises an edition of the *Annals* was issued in that language in July, 1877.[114] Some of the information and reports which had been assembled for the *Annals* were also published in Catholic newspapers in an attempt to keep the work and its needs before the public eye. And no opportunity was missed in using inspirative stories, as with an appeal from Bishop Charles John Seghers of Vancouver Island for the means with which to make a trip to Alaska to visit the Indians there. An article in the Catholic newspaper of Baltimore brought a favorable response, which Brouillet mentioned in his lecture to St. Louisans on May 22, 1877. The following July the second issue of the *Annals* carried the story, from which came the desired reaction of a number of donations for the "Alaska Fund."[115]

---

114 *Annalen der Katholischen Indianer-Missionen von Amerika, heft 1 (Juli, 1877), No. 1.* ABCIM, C. Schauer to Brouillet, Buffalo, December 5, 1876, sent donation of $63 and asked for pamphlets in German for his parishioners and for those of St. Philomena's Parish, Pittsburgh.

115 *Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore), March 17, 1877, published letter, Seghers to Brouillet, Vancouver's Island, January 30, 1877. ABCIM, McCarroll Walsh to Ewing, Jerusalem Mills, Maryland, March 26, 1877, said he would form an Indian missionary association because of reading this newspaper article. *Annals,* I (July, 1877), 33, 54, told the story of Seghers' trip; *ibid.,* II (January, 1878), 26-27, listed donors to the "Alaska Fund."

Others not directly connected with the Catholic bureau but who were anxious for its success wrote articles or reports which improved its financial support. Though she was energetically promoting a national collection in honor of the golden jubilee of Pope Pius IX, Ellen Ewing Sherman also contributed two lengthy articles on the entire Indian situation to a Catholic magazine in the fall of 1877. Her emphasis was chiefly on the granting of full religious liberty to the red men. Yet in calling attention to infractions of this right under the government's program interest must have been aroused among many Catholic readers concerning the organization in Washington of which her brother was the head.[116] Thomas Sherman accompanied his father, General Sherman, on an inspection of the Northwest Territory in the summer of 1877, and he wrote of his experiences and the Indian missionaries whom he had visited. In his official report to the government about this trip Colonel Orlando M. Poe expressed admiration for the system whereby tribes known for their wildness and savagery had been guided toward civilization. The colonel doubted anything nearly so good could have been achieved, regardless of the amount of money spent, without the devotion and self-denial of the Catholic priests and brothers he had seen. From the same territory that the military party had visited, the voice of Father Mesplié was heard on the proper management of Indian reservations, a subject on which one newspaper regarded him as an authority from his long experience in the field.[117]

---

116 *Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore), January 27, 1877, printed a long letter of Mrs. Sherman appealing for donations for the Pope; *ibid.*, March 3 and March 10, 1877, reported the collections, which had then amounted to over $9,000 in Baltimore. [Mrs. W. T. (Ellen Ewing) Sherman], "Our New Indian Policy and Religious Liberty," *Catholic World*, XXVI (October, 1877), 91-104; *ibid.*, "A Glance at the Indian Question," XXVI (November, 1877), 197-203. Original drafts are in the possession of Miss Eleanor Sherman Fitch, New York City.

117 Original draft of the report of Thomas Ewing Sherman is in the possession of Miss Eleanor Sherman Fitch, New York City; cf. *Annals, II* (January, 1878), 17-20. Poe's account, dated December 1, 1877, was published in *Reports of Inspection Made in the Summer of 1877 by Generals P. H. Sheridan and W. T. Sherman of Country North of the Union Pacific Railroad* (Washington, 1878). Poe was a non-Catholic. Lewiston (Idaho Territory) *Teller*, December 8, 1877.

Undoubtedly aided by this diversified publicity the Catholic Indian Missionary Associations continued to progress, especially whenever an energetic promoter incited the zeal of others. The first anniversary meeting of the society in Philadelphia not only was attended by Archbishop James F. Wood but he took full charge of the program. A special indulgence was given by Pius IX to the members, which was presented by Wood with great enthusiasm.[118] The St. Louis unit continued to be outstanding, with Mrs. Sherman participating in its activities and securing other donations from her own connections. While a friend of Brouillet's met with little success in the South because, he said, Catholics were not united and had been infected by the poison of secularism, the priest was entertaining ideas of making the missionary association international along the lines of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.[119]

In the years since 1873 advancement had been made from the dark period when small printing bills were not being met by the Catholic commissioner. Undoubtedly Ewing had been overly optimistic in expecting the office for Catholic Indian missions to be underwritten by one benevolent society in New York. When the clergy and laity were appealed to, some delay in response naturally followed until the need as well as the worth of the apostleship of the red man was publicized. In the meantime the post-war bigotry—almost a pattern in American history—hampered the activity of the Church because the poison had infected official circles. But the dark shadows had been lightened by the permission granted to Father Brouillet to continue his previous affiliation with the bureau. From his brain came the happy plan for organizing a feminine auxiliary, and this Catholic Indian Missionary Association raised the funds which kept the Catholic Indian office open. In fair

---

[118] ABCIM, Amanda F. A. Holohan to Brouillet, Philadelphia, January 19, 1877; same to same, Philadelphia, March 7, 1877, said that $154.67 had been given at the last meeting, the largest collection to that date.

[119] *Ibid.*, Henry Floyd to Brouillet, Monroe, Louisiana, August 7, 1876; Holohan to Brouillet, Philadelphia, July 17, 1877, mentioned discussions of plans for expansion.

weather and in foul Ewing and Brouillet had proved to be an able captain and mate of the prairie schooner, "Catholic Indian Missions."

The list of donors to the Catholic Indian Mission Fund, which was published in the January, 1878, edition of the *Annals* showed that almost $12,000 had been given for that purpose in about thirteen months. Directly or indirectly, most of the credit for the improvement was due to the auxiliary associations. As treasurer of the fund, Brouillet was well aware that the problem of support was far from settled. He continued to employ new means as the opportunity was presented, as when he circularized the pastors of the parishes in the District of Columbia to ask for an announcement to their people of the visit to the capital of a delegation of the Sioux. With public interest whetted by the appearance of the Indians, Brouillet called a mass meeting of the local missionary associations in the hope of securing donations for new schools and missions among those Indians in Dakota Territory.[120] By no means did every attempt succeed; still, few possible openings passed without strong efforts to take advantage of them. It must have been with a good deal of satisfaction that he wrote to a California friend at the beginning of 1878: "The Bureau is more than able to sustain itself, and besides can give occasional assistance to our missions."[121] Though all problems were far from solved, at least the organization was not to die of financial starvation.

---

120 *Ibid.*, Brouillet to 'Reverend dear sir,' Washington, November 9, 1877, copy, asked for an announcement of the meeting on the following Monday in Carroll Hall.

121 *Ibid.*, Brouillet to H[ugh] P. Gallagher, Washington, January 7, 1878, copy. The list of donations up to that time was printed in the *Annals*, II (January, 1878), 26-31.

CHAPTER V

ATTACKS FROM WITHIN

The end of the two terms of President Grant in March, 1877, did not terminate the Peace Policy which he had inaugurated despite the Indian Bureau having long been the object of severe criticism and of congressional investigation. Rutherford B. Hayes, who had been accepted as presidential candidate in 1876 by the Republican politicians in order to stem the tide of invective, named one of his reformer-supporters as Secretary of the Interior. This appointee, Carl Schurz of Missouri, was a liberal member of the party, and his reputation for honesty seemed to meet the popular demand.[1] Notwithstanding revelations of corruption and the disastrous Sioux war of 1876, strong supporters of Grant, such as Episcopalian Bishop Whipple, credited the federal Indian program with beneficial results. On the other hand, even the appointment of Schurz did not satisfy opponents who still called the Indian Office the "rottenest branch of a rotten government."[2]

More of a serious threat to the Peace Policy was a lengthy protest to President Hayes from the Society of Friends, the religious denomination which had been given charge of Indian agencies a year before Grant had announced his larger plan of 1870. The principal objection of the Quakers was the failure of the Senate to confirm their nominations for the position of Indian agents. Already the general dissatisfaction was plainly evident which finally led to the withdrawal of the society from

[1] For a summary of the scandals in the Indian service during Grant's administration, cf. Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren,* p. 67; for the nomination of Hayes, cf. Nevins, *Hamilton Fish,* p. 828.

[2] AAO, scrapbook, clipping from New York *Tribune,* n.d. [early in 1877], quoted letter of Henry B. Whipple; *Collections in the Life and Times of J. Cardinal Gibbons,* edited by John T. Reily (McSherrystown, Pennsylvania, 1895), III, 43, quoted an unnamed Democratic newspaper of October, 1877. Cf. "Abbreviations Used in Footnotes" for meaning of symbols.

the government's program. During the first conference of missionary leaders in January, 1871, Columbus Delano had warned that they must not complain at the intrusion of political considerations into the agency nominations. In this succeeding administration of Hayes the executive branch was not obligated to assume responsibility for the alleged sins of the higher legislative body of Congress.[3] Rather than provoking violent opposition by seeking direct repeal of the Peace Policy, the advocates of political patronage in the naming of Indian agents were beginning to win their point merely by failing to co-operate with the religious groups.

This first ominous portent was, however, but a remote omen of the total extinction of the Peace Policy. Meanwhile the office of the Catholic commissioner had problems of its own as well as those which arose from the interworking of missionary agency and government. The protest of the Quakers had come from the Northern Superintendency, which embraced the State of Nebraska. A former seminary rector from Philadelphia, James O'Connor, was named to that vicariate and consecrated titular Bishop of Dibona on August 20, 1876.[4] In his first report to Rome in 1877 he said that in the vast territory of Nebraska and Montana there were then seven priests caring for the Indians. Several of these at the same time also were pastors of whites and of half-breeds. While O'Connor intended visiting Montana Territory by horseback during the following spring, he expected that a separate vicariate would soon be established there. The superior of the four Jesuits who were working in Montana opposed the change in ecclesiastical government because he feared that the Indians outside of the new

[3] LC, Carl Schurz Papers, Society of Friends to Hayes, Northern Superintendency, Nebraska, n.d. [letter is marked "1877" on the back]. Delano's warning to the delegates was quoted in *B.I.C., 1870,* p. 112.

[4] AAO, memorial plaque issued when O'Connor died in 1890 and listing the outstanding events in his life.

territory would be neglected.[5] After his long trip O'Connor agreed that the territory to the Northwest could not support a bishop, even if combined with Idaho. Its condition of primitive wildness was confirmed when General Sherman and his inspection party narrowly escaped massacre by Nez Percés who were on the warpath.[6] Though the disputed reserve of this tribe was not transferred to the Church, President Hayes told a Navy official shortly thereafter that "the only missionaries who had any effect on wild Indians were Catholic priests."[7]

To effect the civilization of these and other untamed tribesmen the Catholic bureau had been concentrating on the establishment and maintenance of schools on the agencies assigned to the Church. In 1877 the office proudly called attention to eleven industrial boarding schools and seventeen day schools which were being conducted for Catholic Indians. Though several non-Catholic denominations had experienced trouble in staffing the agencies which had been allotted to them, in two years (1875-1877) Catholic missionaries and teachers for the red race had increased from 117 to 137. Further substantial growth took place the next year, as revealed by a government report, and in addition it was shown that eight more boarding schools and fourteen more day schools were in operation with Catholic instructors than had been the case in the year the Peace Policy was announced (1870). It was startling to read in this official document that the monetary allowance from the

---

[5] *Ibid.*, original draft of letter, O'Connor to Alessandro Cardinal Franchi, Omaha, January 12, 1877; Joseph Giorda, S.J., to O'Connor, Fort Colville, Washington Territory, January 7, 1877. Giorda had first been named superior of the Jesuit missions in the Rocky Mountains in 1862. During his second term bad health forced him to resign in 1877; R. Ignatius Burns, S.J., "Coeur d'Alene Diplomacy in the Nez Percé War of 1877," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia,* LXIII (March, 1952), 40-41.

[6] *Ibid.*, original draft of letter, O'Connor to [Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation of the Propaganda], Omaha, September n.d., 1877; L[awrence] B. Palladino, S.J., to O'Connor, Helena, September 4, 1877.

[7] AAB, 73-V-5, Daniel Ammen to James Gibbons, Washington, D. C., August 13, 1878.

government during these seven years had increased by only $2,900, or scarcely $100 *per new school.*[8]

The Catholic bureau, however, claimed credit for obtaining more fitting appropriations at a later date, and this was borne out by the records of a community of sisters which had charge of five Indian schools during this period.[9] One congressional proposal for Indian education had been dropped when Father Brouillet offered to educate the forty boys for half the sum contained in the appropriation bill. Undoubtedly the priest based his proposal on the knowledge that the religious, whether men or women, who conducted the institution would require little more than their own support as compensation. Reasoning along the same line, he claimed more than $86,000 as the value of the Catholic missionary work at a time when the very existence of the bureau itself was threatened by the lack of a few hundred dollars. Brouillet frankly told the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that $60,000 of his total was the equivalent of the salaries which would have been paid to the eighty-four teachers in non-Catholic establishments, though these volunteers actually received nothing.[10]

The adeptness of Brouillet at making figures or reports reflect credit upon the Catholic Indian bureau and its work was not the cause of a storm which broke over the organization, but it did provide fuel for the flames. The searing blasts were to come principally from the pen of James A. McMaster, editor of the New York *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register.* As a zealous if not overly prudent convert to Catholicism, Mc-

8 *Annals of the Catholic Indian Missions of America,* I (July, 1877), 54; *B.I.C., 1878* (1) Washington, 1879), pp. 112-113. Anson Phelps Stokes, in his *Church and State in the United States* (New York, 1950), II, 288, was guilty of an anchronism in crediting the Catholic bureau with securing government support for seven Indian schools by 1873, a year before the organization came into existence.

9 Archives of Mother House, Sisters of Charity of Providence, Montreal, *"Allocations recues du Gouvernement pour nos Missions Indiennes des Etats-Unis de 1874 à 1887,"* copy. Cf. *Annals,* I (July, 1877), 33.

10 ABCIM, Brouillet to Zachariah Chandler, Washington, August 15, 1876; Brouillet to Edward P. Smith, Washington, November 20, 1875, copies.

Master had long been critical of the government's treatment of the Indians. Because they and not the white men were the original inhabitants of the United States, McMaster believed that they possessed inalienable rights which were unjustly being snatched away. When the Catholic commissioner's office entered the struggle for the Indian missions he gave some notice to its work without, however, according it any special recognition. As early as 1875 one of his many correspondents asked the New York editor to deny a rumor that the Catholic Church could nominate Indian agents, the same as other missionary groups. Being aware that the Catholic bureau actually was participating in the Peace Policy, McMaster never printed the letter as the writer had intended, nor did he then comment in his newspaper about the government's administration of the plan.[11]. McMaster's coolness toward the Catholic bureau may have arisen because General Sherman, Ewing's brother-in-law, had been a target of violent criticism in the *Freeman's Journal* ever since the general had advocated in 1866 the use of force for the settlement of Indian troubles. Moreover, McMaster probably cherished a deep-seated antipathy for the national government as conducted by the Republican Party. His hostility could be traced back to the suppression of his newspaper and his own imprisonment during the Civil War because of his "copperhead" policy in opposing the continuance of the struggle between the North and South.[12]

A sharp article on the conduct of Indian affairs under President Grant, based on facts which Brouillet had furnished, had just been printed when McMaster heard that a Benedictine missionary named Dom Isidore Robot had been appointed prefect apostolic for Indian Territory. In a short but biting comment the New York editor said he could see no need nor advisability in the selection, and he observed that in an act such

---

11 AUND, N. C. Stoughton to [James A. McMaster], Lansingburg, New York, July 22, 1875. Letter signed "Trojan" was enclosed for publication.

12 Kwitchen, *James Alphonsus McMaster*, pp. 202-203. Cf. Wood Gray, *The Hidden Civil War* (New York, 1942), for treatment of McMaster and other Northern opponents of the Civil War.

as this the Pope was not infallible.[13] McMaster had concluded this blast by asking to be corrected if he were wrong. It was unknown to him that the priest whose appointment had occasioned the comment had come to the Diocese of Little Rock in 1873, after having served as a French army chaplain during the war with Prussia. Dom Robot had volunteered for the Indian missions, and with Brother Dominic Lambert, O.S.B., had gone to Indian Territory in October, 1875. Less than nine months later, and when Robot and the Benedictine brother were the entire Catholic clergy in the territory, the Holy Father, on July 9, 1876, had appointed him the first prefect apostolic of the Indian country.[14]

Already Robot had been helped financially by the Catholic Indian bureau, but its assistance was soon to be dwarfed by that of the erstwhile critic, McMaster. The rhetorical request of the initial article in the New York newspaper for better information was answered through a letter of Robot to the prior of his former Benedictine monastery of Pierre-que-Vire, in France. Therein the missionary related that in 69,000 square miles which comprised his territory two tribes living there, the Osages and Potawatomi, were mostly Catholics. The letter was published in *Les Missions Catholiques* on August 11, 1876, and less than a month later it was reprinted in the *Freeman's Journal*.[15] McMaster freely admitted that his own reading of the letter had changed his opinion about the advisability of Pius IX naming a prefect apostolic, and the editor did not stop with this apology. Robot was held up as an excellent example of faith that dared the impossible. The editor proposed that readers of the newspaper form groups of fifteen, with each member contributing for the missionary Robot three cents a month and

13 *Freeman's Journal,* August 12, 1876, enumerated the "Indian wrongs"; *ibid.,* August 19, 1876, disagreed with the fitness of having a prefect apostolic in Indian Territory.

14 Sister M. Ursula Thomas, O.S.B., "The Catholic Church on the Oklahoma Frontier, 1824-1907," unpublished doctoral dissertation, St. Louis University (1938), pp. 51-56.

15 *Les Missions Catholiques* (Lyon, France), August 11, 1876; this weekly publication recounted the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. *Freeman's Journal,* September 2, 1876, reprinted Robot's letter.

reciting one Hail Mary every day.[16] McMaster envisaged 1,000 bands being formed, which would have meant an income of $450 a month for the missions. That sum was almost realized in the first month, during which about $400 was sent to the New York paper along with a number of enthusiastic letters from members of the charitable bands.[17] To the criticism that his project had no episcopal approval McMaster replied that he would wait until the life of the movement was demonstrated before asking for approbation and direction from the hierarchy. Without mentioning any person or organization specifically, he proclaimed his distaste for sanctions, deliberations, and written constitutions, saying that his scheme was practical, unostentatious Catholic charity.

Apparently through complaints to friends rather than by written protest the officials of the Catholic bureau expressed dislike for what they considered an invasion of their own field, especially since that domain had not been lavish in its financial fruits. Joseph Loughran, an employee of the Department of the Interior in the Indian division, was friendly to both McMaster and the officials of the Catholic Indian organization. He wrote to the New York editor that there had been much criticism in Washington of the by-passing of the bureau in the *Freeman's Journal's* campaign. The Indian Office official observed: "Your great success has allayed all that, and now you are praised for—well, for *success.*" Loughran approved of other newspapers promoting bands of fifteen charitable persons, but at the same time he suggested that Brouillet should be asked to approve each newspaper and the Catholic missionary or agency which it wanted to sponsor. The energetic apostleship of Ellen Ewing Sherman in organizing and promoting the Catholic Indian missionary bands was lauded, as was the high standard of that lady's character and charitable zeal.[18]

---

16 *Freeman's Journal,* October 7 and 14, 1876. AUND has a number of notebooks which contain lists of the donors of the small sums.

17 *Ibid.,* October 28 and November 11, 1876.

18 AUND, J[oseph] Loughran to James A. McMaster, Washington, December 10, 1876. The italics were in Loughran's letter.

But for the time being the efforts of Mrs. Sherman and of other friends of the Catholic bureau were suffering from undercover but nevertheless very real criticism of supposed allies. Mrs. Sherman had found there was no truth in the report that a Jesuit had been opposing the Catholic Missionary Association in St. Louis. But the innuendoes which she had heard there had been uttered in a manner which implied the money given for the Indians was not being used for that purpose.[19] Probably to check such insinuations a board for the control of the Indian Fund was appointed by Archbishop Bayley on Memorial Day, 1876. It was composed of the president of the Jesuit's Georgetown College and of six prominent laymen of Washington. Every expenditure of the Catholic bureau was to be approved by the board and the books of its auxiliary were to be audited quarterly. The original charter stipulated that all contributions were to be deposited in a New York bank, designated by Cardinal McCloskey. This action never was taken because the size of the fund did not justify transferring it to New York; in 1878 the bureau's constitution was amended to provide that deposits were to be made in any institution chosen by the board and approved by the New York prelate.[20] On June 1, 1876, Bayley officially appointed Brouillet treasurer of the Catholic Indian Missionary Association, a position the priest in actuality had filled from the first meeting of the group in Washington the previous October. At the end of 1876 the annual treasurer's report for the first time bore the approval of the board of control, Patrick F. Healy, S.J., signing as president and Thomas E. Waggaman as secretary.[21]

---

19 ABCIM, Ellen E. Sherman to [Brouillet], St. Louis, May 18, 1876. The priest mentioned was Frederick Garesché, S.J., former vice-rector of St. Xavier's College, Cincinnati; cf. Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, II, 159.

20 EC, *Charter for the Control of the Catholic Indian Mission Fund*, dated at Baltimore, May 30, 1876. The amendment of February 20, 1878, was written by Charles S. Lusk, secretary, and stamped with the seal of the bureau.

21 ABCIM, Bayley to Ewing, Baltimore, June 1, 1876; EC, *Report of the treasurer, etc., from January, 1873, to December 1, 1876.* The certification for the board of control was made at Washington, on January 5, 1877.

Though the board of control continued to meet quarterly, its institution and supervision had not quieted the critics in Missouri. Another pacifying gesture was made in March, 1877, by the appointment of Joseph F. Donagan as general fiscal agent of the bureau for the province of St. Louis. Brouillet asked this man to help the Indian associations there in every way possible, seeking especially to harmonize the various conflicting elements. Father Malo had gone to the Midwest the previous fall for that purpose, but with limited success. After Donagan's appointment had accomplished little more, Malo was asked to return to the Washington office the directions which had been given him for settling the turmoil among the St. Louis groups. No copy had been retained in the files, and Brouillet wanted to use the instructions for reference when he went there himself.[22] In his lecture in the Mound City on May 22 the priest did not refer directly to any criticism of the bureau's financial methods. Rather he met the issue positively by enumerating the measures taken to insure rectitude. The safeguards of the control board as well as the necessity of connivance between himself and all members of that board for either dishonesty or favoritism to take place were brought out by the treasurer. Most of all, Brouillet stressed the name of Ewing as being in itself an absolute guarantee of probity of the highest degree.[23]

At first these difficulties or misunderstandings about the funds of the bureau went unnoticed in the pages of the *Freeman's Journal*. And as has been mentioned, Dom Robot in Indian Territory had been known and helped by the Catholic bureau before McMaster ever championed his cause. But when hundreds and then thousands of dollars from the newspaper's crusade were all channeled to the Benedictine and almost no

---

22 ABCIM, Brouillet to Joseph F. Donagan, Washington, March 24, 1877; Charles J. Lusk to P[atrick] F. Healy [S.J.], Washington, April 7, 1877, notified him of quarterly meeting of the board of control; R. F. Hunter to J. F. Malo, Washington, May 2, 1877, all copies.

23 *Annals*, I (July, 1877), 34-36, gave this part of Brouillet's lecture. ABCIM, Brouillet to Michael F. Martin, Washington, June 7, 1877, copy; Amanda F. A. Holohan to Brouillet, Philadelphia, June 27, 1877, both mention the trip to St. Louis.

more financial help came from Washington, the missionary was not pleased with the contrast.[24] Moreover, one of the Catholic tribes in Indian Territory was that of the Osages, who prior to their removal from Kansas had been cared for by the Jesuits in that state. Members of this religious congregation had been in frequent correspondence with the bureau about missions and schools for the tribe. Thus when the appointment of Robot as prefect apostolic was announced Ewing immediately asked the veteran missionaries of the society to prepare for a joint meeting with tribesmen and the new ecclesiastical superior of Indian Territory.[25] Though he was the only priest in what later became the State of Oklahoma, Robot apparently was determined to share his charges with no one. On becoming aware of Robot's independent attitude, the Jesuits declined the invitation of Ewing, and when the French missionary learned that the Society of Jesus had been consulted first, he became cool if not immediately hostile toward the officers of the bureau.[26] Brouillet endeavored to placate the sensitive Frenchman, but the absence of sizeable donations for his work

---

24 ABCIM, Robot to Brouillet, Atoka, Indian Territory, October 31, 1876; Brouillet to Robot, Washington, November 7, 1876, copy.

25 EC, John Schoenmakers [S.J.] to Ewing, Osage Mission, Neosho County, Kansas, October 4, 1876, advised that he had heard Robot had been appointed prefect apostolic of Indian Territory. *Ibid.*, Paul M. Ponziglione, S.J., to Ewing, Osage Mission, Neosho County, Kansas, July 27, 1875, September 30, 1875, November 8, 1875, and February 15, 1876, all asking help for the work among the Osages. *Ibid.*, Charles W. Blair to Ewing, Fort Scott, Kansas, September 4, and September 6, 1876, related the efforts of this attorney to arrange a meeting between Schoenmakers and the Osages. *Ibid.*, Ewing to Thomas O'Neil, S.J., Washington, August 31, 1876, copy, asked this provincial of the Jesuits to appoint a representative for the proposed meeting. Cf. Graves, *Life and Letters of Reverend Father John Schoenmakers, etc.*, for biography of this Jesuit; J. J. McInerney, *Past and Present* (Humboldt, Kansas, 1910), for a tribute to the work of Ponziglione. The writings of Ponziglione were used by Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald, VS.C.L.V., in "The Osage Missions: A Factor in the Making of Kansas."

26 ABCIM, Robot to Brouillet, Atoka, Indian Territory, October 31 and December 11, 1876. EC, Thomas O'Neil, S.J., to Ewing, Cincinnati, September 8, 1876, refused to permit Father Schoenmakers to be more than adviser at any meeting for the Osages; Schoenmakers, S.J., to Ewing, Osage Mission, Neosho County, Kansas, December 26, 1876, commented on Robot and said: ". . . it is the spirit of our Society not to undertake new missions, schools, or colleges except with a good understanding and perfect good will and desire of the respective dignitaries."

aggravated his misconception of the bureau's courtesy in consulting the Jesuits, who had been ministering to the Osage Nation for thirty years. The explanations of Brouillet were rejected, and Robot became critical of the Washington organization in his letters to McMaster. Some of the trouble which the feminine auxiliary encountered in St. Louis may have had its origin in Indian Territory. At least Robot claimed that friends and relatives of his in that city had broken with the association because of their indignation over the limited financial support Robot had received.[27]

Notwithstanding, the work of the Benedictine was given a prominent place in the first issue of the *Annals,* and Brouillet continued to write to Robot. He assured Robot that assistance would be afforded according to the means of the bureau, a statement which the missionary said was "wider than the sea. Upon such promise, I did not rely one word (*sic*)."[28] While he was very critical of the Peace Policy and the government's violation of Indian treaty provisions, apparently the Frenchman had no understanding that therein was the principal office of the bureau rather than in raising and distributing funds. Unfortunately for his proper conception of the functions of the Catholic bureau, Robot's principal informant in this regard was McMaster, and both were given to violent explosions of wrath when aroused.

For the moment McMaster's pet project was the furthering of the mission in Indian Territory, and the second edition of the *Annals* probably aroused smouldering resentment in the editor. In November, 1876, Father James S. M. Lynch, director of St. Joseph's Seminary in Troy, New York, had asked Brouillet about sending student donations of three cents a day to the Catholic Indian Fund. Though McMaster's plan for aiding Robot was not mentioned by name, it was evident from

---

27 AUND, Robot to Mr. [James A.] McMaster, Atoka, [November n.d., 1876]. *Freeman's Journal,* December 23, 1876, published another letter of Robot to McMaster, Atoka, December 11, 1876.

28 *Annals,* I (January, 1877), 9-10; AUND, Robot to Mr. [James A.] MacMaster (*sic*), Atoka, February 28, 1877.

the letter than the students had already joined that movement. The director's motive in changing was that they might participate in the indulgences which the Pope had granted to the bureau's auxiliary members. In assuring him that the transfer would be acceptable, Brouillet declared that the association was "undoubtedly the safest, in fact the only one, that united the essential conditions of a sure and permanent success." With the name of his correspondent deleted Brouillet had printed the letters in full in the *Annals.* It must have been obvious to McMaster that his project was indirectly condemned if the missionary association was the sole legitimate channel of charity to the Catholic missions.[29]

During 1877, however, no direct attack on the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions appeared in the *Freeman's Journal,* but the groundwork was being laid for the assult that came in the following year. Scarcely an issue of the newspaper did not have a list of the donations which had been received for Robot's work, and usually some portion or all of the letter which had accompanied the remittance was printed. McMaster's invitation to other editors to follow his example in adopting an Indian mission was not taken up to any extent, but some editorial applause was given to his crusade. One letter of thanks from Atoka, Indian Territory, said that aside from the aid through the *Freeman's Journal,* some assistance had come from France, and one trifling donation from an association in Washington, "which association," Robot observed, "must be very poor itself—I suppose." The editor made no comment, though in another section of the paper a request was made for larger donations from wealthy readers.

Another indirect slap was taken at the Washington Catholic bureau in the St. Patrick's Day issue, for after extolling the merits of his own society and of Robot, McMaster told a story about a so-called charitable society in England. All the money

---

29 ABCIM, J[ames] S. M. Lynch to Brouillet, Troy, New York, November 12, 1876; Brouillet to Lynch, Washington, November 23, 1876, copy; Lynch to Brouillet, January 14, 1876, sent the first contribution; *Annals,* I (July, 1877), 55-56.

collected by it was consumed by expenses with nothing left to be given to the cause by "The Grand-Junction-Ebenezer-Society," a name which was applied over and over again to the Washington group in future issues of the paper.[30] McMaster had already been chided for calling General Sherman "Sitting Bull," but he persisted in his open antipathy for Ellen Ewing's husband, a personal animosity which was to fashion many a poisoned shaft at the Catholic bureau and at the Ewings.[31]

In 1877 Father Brouillet initiated a move for a papal decoration for Ewing, an honor which was likely to silence most Catholic critics of the general's person. It is possible the priest believed that through this means the attacks by McMaster could be checked. In January the intercession of the Cardinal of New York was requested to obtain a papal knighthood for the Catholic commissioner. The principal basis for the distinction was the four years which the general had labored for the Indians, for which, as the petition read, "he had not received nor had he expected any pecuniary compensation." Also cited were Ewing's reputation as a gentleman and a practical Christian, as well as the eminent services of the man and of his family for God and country.[32] Bayley then being ill, McCloskey entrusted the formal petition to the long-time friend of the Ewings, Archbishop Purcell. To Cardinal Franchi and Cardinal Simeoni the Cincinnati prelate declared that "no person, in our estimation, deserves more than he" the knightly

---

30 *Freeman's Journal,* February 10 and March 17, 1877. *Ave Maria,* XIII (January 20, 1877), 31, praised the efforts of McMaster.

31 AUND, J[oseph] Loughran to McMaster, Washington, December 10, 1876, said: "Your comparison of Genl. Sherman to Sitting Bull. . .caused some indignation amongst the friends of the Genl. here, but I presume you were not particular about that." *Freeman's Journal,* March 31, 1877, in commenting upon a Catholic mission among the Sioux, declared that these Indians had been robbed and plundered by order of Sherman.

32 AANY, Brouillet to McCloskey, Washington, January 15, 1877.

honor.[33] In response to the request, on June 1, 1877, the venerable Pius IX, then in the thirty-first year of his pontificate, created Ewing a Knight of the Order of St. Gregory the Great. As external evidence of this rank, the brief of the Pontiff granted Ewing permission to wear at his pleasure the uniform and the octogonal gold cross of the order.[34] In the official notification McCloskey asserted that the outstanding work which Ewing had done for the red race in the United States was the primary reason for the knighthood having been conferred. Personal illness delayed the thanks of the Washington attorney, but the letter he ultimately sent was a model of gratitude to the Pope and Cardinal McCloskey.[35]

Any hope that might have been entertained that McMaster would be daunted by an opponent vested in a papal knighthood was to be rudely shattered; in fact, the distinction given to Ewing seemed to irritate the editor still further. No direct onslaught was made on the commissioner or the bureau dur-

---

[33] J[ohn] B. Purcell to Alex. [Alessandro] Cardinal Franchi, Cincinnati, January 30, 1877; in the letter the sponsorship of Giovanni Cardinal Simeoni also was petitioned. Leo XIII, who succeeded Pius IX in 1878, named Cardinal Franchi his Secretary of State. Brouillet to McCloskey, Washington, January 30, 1877, was a petition in French which was much the same as the priest's letter of January 15; it may have been written to accompany the formal request to Rome. Copies of Purcell's letter in Latin and of this second letter of Brouillet are in the possession of Charles Ewing, son of the general, 32 Chestnut Street, Boston. For an account of Bayley's illness at this time, cf. Yeager, *The Life of James Roosevelt Bayley, etc.*, pp. 454-456.

[34] Brief of Pope Pius IX to Charles Ewing was dated at Rome, June 1, 1877, and signed by J. Cardinal Asquinias. The original document in Latin and a translation are in the possession of Charles Ewing, Boston. Dr. Silas M. Chatard may have handled some of the details, for he wrote of the procedure required for documents in Rome, ABCIM, Chatard to Brouillet, Boston, August 25, 1877. Chatard, rector of the American College in Rome, had returned to the United States, as it was said, "to recruit his strength in his native air"; *Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore), February 3, 1877.

[35] McCloskey to Ewing, New York, June 26, 1877; the original letter is in the possession of Charles Ewing, Boston. AANY, Ewing to McCloskey, Washington, July 16, 1877, mentioned: "I have been unwell for some time past." A pamphlet containing information about the decoration was sent to Ewing with the compliments of McCloskey, John M. Farley [McCloskey's secretary who later became cardinal archbishop] to Brouillet, New York, November 21, 1877; the original letter is in the possession of Charles Ewing, Boston. Ewing in the uniform of the knighthood, which had been instituted on October 31, 1841, by Pope Gregory XVI, has been depicted as part of a mosaic in the Cathedral of St. Matthew, Washington, D. C.

ing 1877, but the first issue of the *Freeman's Journal* in 1878 contained a reprint of a letter which had been written before Christmas by Dom Robot to the New Orleans *Propagateur Catholique*. The Benedictine recounted his completion of a monastery in Indian Territory, for which McMaster had gathered most of the money. From the society in Washington—which Robot had studiously avoided mentioning by name—the missionary said he had received but $75; he charged that most of its collections had been consumed by payments for salaries and large offices.[36]

No editorial comment accompanied the printing of this letter, and two weeks later the same method was employed in the presentation of a letter signed "P.H.D." Lest there be any doubt as to the status of the writer, the letter contained a statement that its author was a Catholic pastor who had been encouraged to send the communication by his ecclesiastical superior. Taking the receipts and expenditures which had been printed in the *Annals* of the previous July, the letter writer with biting irony called attention to the relatively small percentage of the money which had been passed on directly to Indian missions. The reader's sympathy was sought by frequent references to poor Robot and his redskins. In contrast, an item of $563.80 for traveling expenses in the bureau's accounts to cover a visit to the missions of the Northwest was made subject to an invidious comparison with the travels of St. Paul. As the writer said, "Times have changed." If any doubt remained regarding McMaster's personal attitude, it was removed by another article in the same issue, which compared the expenses of the bureau with the collection made by the newspaper, from which no deductions had been made. The final blast was at three-quarters of the Catholic periodicals in the United States which,

---

[36] *Freeman's Journal*, January 5, 1878. Robot's building was called Sacred Heart Monastery; Joseph Francis Murphy, O.S.B., "Monastic Centers of the Order of Saint Benedict in Oklahoma," unpublished master's thesis, University of Oklahoma (1942), p. 45.

it was charged, "nearly burst their cheeks in blowing the Grand Junction, Double-Action, Bureau's horn!"[37]

The following week under the heading, "Good Words for a Bad Job," McMaster printed a defense of the Catholic Indian bureau, written by Father Francis E. Boyle, pastor of St. Peter's Church in the national capital. Boyle pointed out that the essential purpose of the Catholic bureau had not been to raise money for the Indians but to represent them and the Church before the federal government. Money which had been contributed had been expended for that work, and the surplus—about ten percent of the income—had been distributed to the missions. But any thought that this presentation of an opposite argument indicated a neutral position for the newspaper was immediately dispelled. For an old friend, Father Boyle, McMaster had kind if very few words; and, surprisingly, for the Abbé Brouillet as well. Both were simply being misled, the editor declared, as had been the late Archbishop Bayley. They were in the wrong wigwam, the Tecumseh Wigwam—an unmistakable allusion to General William Tecumseh Sherman. Many repetitions of "Ebenezer Junction" and "Washington, Double-Action, Affair" were allusions to the story about the charitable society in England which the *Freeman's Journal* had carried the preceding March 17. Then too, there was a reference to an interest which Charles Ewing had had in some patents. But the pebble rubbing in McMaster's shoe was uncovered in his claim that the bureau had been hostile to his own crusade for the mission in Indian Territory.[38]

The equilibrium of Brouillet and Ewing, shaken by these direct attacks, was further disturbed when successive issues of the *Freeman's Journal* continued the barrage. Eastern Cath-

---

[37] *Ibid.*, January 19, 1878. The copy of the *Annals* to which reference was made had been sent with the following letter: AUND, Brouillet to McMaster, Washington, June 22, 1877: "Knowing you to have the true interests of the Indians at heart, and that you have advocated their cause fearlessly, I would invite your serious attention to the present number of our 'Annals' and request that you give it careful perusal."

[38] *Ibid.*, January 26, 1878. Father Boyle, who for years had been pastor of St. Peter's Church, Washington, was named to succeed the deceased Charles I. White as fifth pastor of St. Matthew's; *ibid.*, May 25, 1878.

olic newspapers, such as the *Catholic Herald* and the *Tablet* of New York, first were belabored because McMaster thought they had disparaged, by slighting references, his own campaign. In the first publication of his newspaper in January McMaster had launched his attack. In the initial issue of February he called upon the bureau to "cease, quit, disappear," or otherwise he threatened revelations of scandal which, he maintained, would accidentally touch innocent Brouillet. These threats were never fulfilled and remain unexplained, though Ellen Ewing Sherman later wrote that the barbed shafts were aimed at her and at her daughter.[39]

Father Brouillet, who had been labeled no more than a dupe, took up the defense of the bureau he had helped to promote and to organize. In successive issues the *Catholic Mirror* of Baltimore printed his answer. Editorially it was explained the reply was being run in order that both sides of the question might be seen; other newspapers were asked to do the same. In general Brouillet reviewed the accomplishments of the Washington organization in an attempt to have this record justify the existence of the bureau. However, the charges and jibes of the *Freeman's Journal* were neither overlooked nor disregarded, but the language used in answering them was moderate and not vindictive. Brouillet pointed out that the St. Michael's Confraternity of McMaster was a private undertaking, without episcopal sanction, which supported a single mission. His office, in contradistinction, had been officially approved by more than forty bishops and was designed to help all the Catholic Indians of the nation. The *Mirror* devoted a two-column front page spread to the achievements of the bureau during the period when it had been struggling for its very existence. In conclusion Brouillet asked the American Catholics if they felt that it should "cease, quit, disappear."[40]

---

39 *Ibid.*, January 26 and February 2, 1878. Mrs. Sherman's statement was contained in "Documents for Presentation in Rome," a defense of the Catholic bureau, dated at Baltimore, January 16, 1879 (hereafter cited as "Documents"); this handwritten paper is in the possession of Miss Eleanor Sherman Fitch, New York City.

40 *Catholic Mirror*, February 9 and 16, 1878.

As so often happens in personal controversies, the friends of the Washington organization were gratified at the defense, while McMaster was totally unswayed. The editor of the *Catholic Telegraph* rejoiced in the complete vindication and republished the articles in the Cincinnati paper.[41] On the other side, the answer by the treasurer of the Catholic Indian Missionary Association was attacked by both Robot and his patron in the same issue of the latter's newspaper. The Benedictine added little to what he had already written, save to say that he had actually received $50 more than he had previously maintained, but that this additional sum had come from Mrs. Sherman. He implied that she had wanted the donation kept secret and had intended that it be used to silence his criticism.

The records actually reveal that the prefect apostolic himself thanked Mrs. Sherman for both her care and her donation to Dom Columbano O'Loane. In a letter to Brouillet a couple of weeks later—but nearly a year before the appearance of the press version—the lady had mentioned this bestowment. In her statement for presentation in Rome she explained that this Benedictine, on his way to join Robot, had become ill in St. Louis. The $50 for his expenses had been advanced by her without seeking the customary authorization, but if disallowed, Mrs. Sherman said she would have paid it herself. Her open purse for charity was so proverbial that the statement seemed credible.[42] McMaster also took exception to Brouillet sending his answer to another paper, saying that the *Freeman's Journal* was available for the correspondence of what was termed the "Indian Department of the Catholic Church in the United States." However, on February 9

[41] ABCIM, J[ames] F. Callaghan to Brouillet, Cincinnati, March 16, 1878. $32 was sent with the letter, representing the 1877 collection by Catholic Indian Missionary Association there. The Cincinnati circle had been hurt by the death of Mrs. Sarah Peter on February 6, 1877; McAllister, *In Winter We Flourish* (New York, 1939), 360-398.

[42] *Freeman's Journal,* April 20, 1878, printed letter of Robot to McMaster, Oberlin, Indian Territory, April 5, 1878. ABCIM, Robot to Mrs. W. T. Sherman, Sacred Heart Mission, Indian Territory, May 15, 1877; Ellen Ewing Sherman to Brouillet, St. Louis, June 1, 1877; Brouillet to Mrs. General Sherman, Washington, June 5, 1877, copy, mentioned $54.25 bestowed upon Dom Columbano in St. Louis. Mrs. Sherman, "Documents," said that in giving the money she had asked this Benedictine to tell Robot that the attacks by him and McMaster were injuring the whole Indian cause.

Charles Ewing had written to the New York editor, demanding he furnish the names and the specific acts of wrongdoing which had been insinuated in McMaster's columns. The Ewing letter was not printed nor did McMaster reply to it, and while it later appeared in the New York *Tablet,* Mrs. Sherman asserted that the *Freeman's Journal* was closed to any replies from the bureau. Three months after Brouillet's letter had been published McMaster himself kept the memory of it alive by warning the Washington office not to entrust its defense to what he characterized as the "crooked *Mirror*. . . .the besmirched *Mirror*" of Baltimore.[43]

It would be misleading to give the impression that nothing in favor of the Catholic bureau ever appeared in the New York newspaper. In the last issue of February the *Freeman's Journal* printed a letter written sometime before by Father Louis N. St. Onge, who had been a missionary to the Indians in the same diocese as Brouillet until 1872. This priest had not attempted to take up the abuse of the bureau point by point. Instead he had contented himself with calling attention to the approval of Archbishop Bayley and the presidency of the bureau's board of control being occupied by Father Healy of Georgetown College as presumptive evidence that the affairs were being conducted in proper fashion. Before and after the letter were printed McMaster's comments, which added nothing to the credence with which an unbiased reader would have taken St. Onge's remarks. McMaster said he respected the memory of the late Archbishop of Baltimore as gentle and pious, but that he had been easily deceived. Any idea that a reader might have taken about the officials in the Washington office being dishonest was disclaimed emphatically; the question as the editor saw it was whether the management had been wise or imbecile. The article closed with the promise of printing the remainder of St. Onge's letter the following week.[44]

[43] New York *Tablet,* undated clipping. The statement by Mrs. Sherman of McMaster's refusal was made in her "Documents." *Freeman's Journal,* May 18, 1878.

[44] *Freeman's Journal,* February 23, 1878. A long report on the Catholic Indian missions in Oregon had been written by St. Onge for the *Annals,* I (January, 1877), 15-21. He had left the Northwest because of his health, first doing parish work in the Diocese of Burlington and then in the Diocese of Albany.

However, several weeks passed and a protest of the priest about the withholding of most of his communication had long since been carried in another newspaper before the second section was presented in the *Freeman's Journal.* In this instance, though the article was headed "Father St. Onge's Opinion," fully three columns of abuse of all who disagreed with McMaster or his plan preceded. The letter itself was prefaced with a regret that the space had to be put to so poor a use. Later it was asserted that by no means all of the priest's letter had been printed, though no statement to that effect appeared in the *Freeman's Journal.*[45]

If there was any danger of the searing flame dying out, McMaster gathered more fuel by writing to Ezra A. Hayt of New York, who had succeeded John Q. Smith as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. After Hayt had been complimented profusely upon his work, McMaster proceeded to his point. As a Catholic and as an American he objected to Charles Ewing being recognized as "Catholic Commissioner," for he did not want to be taxed "to run Catholic, Methodist, Baptist, or any other missions among the Indians." Then he inquired if the government allocations to schools at agencies assigned to Catholics would have been made to any designated agent, or if Ewing, by his energy and influence, had secured or enhanced the allotments.[46] Hayt promptly replied that he saw nothing unconstitutional or contradictory in the federal Indian policy, but for the purpose of McMaster's inquiry the answer was still ideal. The commissioner said that the sums which had been paid for the contract schools were not due to Ewing's influence and would have been assigned to any duly appointed representative

---

45 New York *Tablet,* undated clipping, published letter, L. N. St. Onge to the *Tablet,* Glenn's Falls, New York, March 11, 1878. *Freeman's Journal,* March 30, 1878. Mrs. Sherman, "Documents," said that McMaster had published only a part of Father St. Onge's letter and had made it a text for further abuse. Glens Falls is the accepted spelling today; *Webster's Geographical Dictionary* (Springfield, Massachusetts, 1949), p. 405.

46 RBIA, L.R., Miscellaneous 1878, M 539, McMaster to Hayt, New York, March 20, 1878. On this letter is this notation: "Ans. 3/23/78. Copy to Ewing, 8/27/79." Ewing's name with this title had appeared in *C.I.A., 1877* (Washington, 1877), p. 318.

of the Catholic Church, as Hayt had always considered Ewing to be. Publishing this section of the reply with great exultation, McMaster declared it proved that the Catholic commissioner actually had accomplished nothing.[47] Another tack which must have been effective with Catholic readers was a natural development from the remarks which the *Freeman's Journal* had made about Bayley's lack of discernment. From that time on the paper deprecated the approval of the late Archbishop of Baltimore which the bureau had publicized through reproducing Bayley's letter of January 2, 1874. Bayley having died, McMaster contended that the organization had no *living* basis of authority and that no ecclesiastical official could be found to vouch for its existence in 1878.[48]

While these questions were being raised in the New York paper the officials in Washington were planning the best means to furnish a satisfactory answer. Early in March Father Brouillet wrote to the Vicar Apostolic of Nebraska, James O'Connor, asking his advice about a circular letter which it was proposed to send to all the hierarchy. The Society for the Propagation of the Faith had helped many struggling dioceses in the United States since its founding in France in 1822. Brouillet had heard the organization would be willing to assist the bureau too if it received requests for such aid from the bishops. In addition to his approval of the letter, the priest asked O'Connor to endorse the plan to the bishops. Brouillet frankly said that such action by O'Connor would disabuse those bishops who had a false impression of the bureau from the attacks which had been leveled at it by the *Freeman's Journal*.[49] Though no reply from Omaha was found, later in the same

---

47 AUND, Hayt to McMaster, Washington, March 23, 1878. *Freeman's Journal,* June 7 and July 13, 1878.

48 *Freeman's Journal,* February 23, 1878, carried the first reference to Bayley's poor judgment. *Ibid.,* May 4 and June 1, 1878, were instances of the questioning of the bureau's ecclesiastical approval.

49 AAO, Brouillet to Bishop James O'Connor, Washington, March 8, 1878. In the same file was the proposed circular letter, dated at Washington on March 7. For the foundation and development of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, cf. Theodore Roemer, O.F.M. Cap., *Ten Decades of Alms* (St. Louis, 1942), Chapter II: "The French Donors," (pp. 15-31).

month the treasurer of the Indian Fund sent a revised proposal that the bishops write directly to the society's headquarters in Lyons, France, in behalf of the Washington office. This last draft had been approved by the new Archbishop of Baltimore, James Gibbons. The latter had suggested that the petition be sent to O'Connor as the Indian missionary bishop who would be most interested in it.

Brouillet had added that this petition by the bishops who had charge of red men would be a great inducement for his making a trip to Europe during the approaching summer, for he thought that the united request could be used to advantage by him.[50] The priest certainly had been talking about a journey abroad for at least a month, the promoter of the Philadelphia auxiliary having mentioned that she hoped Brouillet would get to Rome while Dr. Chatard, rector of the American College, was there.[51] Though Brouillet started on his trip abroad before the year was over, the plan of obtaining the help of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith never matured. His own bishop, A.M.A. Blanchet, said he doubted the success of the request and did not want it made either by the bureau or by any of its members. The failure of the hierarchy in the Indian mission territory to agree with the approval of Gibbons may have been due to a fear that any appropriation made for the bureau by the Lyons society might be subtracted from the money the same organization would send to the diocese of the bishop making such a request.[52]

At the same time as he expressed his disapproval of appealing to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, Bishop Blanchet proposed reforms in the set-up of the bureau which

50 *Ibid.*, same to same, Washington, March 28, 1878.

51 ABCIM, Amanda F. A. Holohan to Brouillet, Philadelphia, March 6, 1878. On May 13, 1878, Chatard was consecrated in Rome by Cardinal Franchi as Bishop of Vincennes; *Freeman's Journal,* May 18, 1878.

52 AAS, A.M.A. Blanchet to James O'Connor, Vancouver, June 15, 1878, copy. AAO has twelve approvals (some qualified) from Indian bishops of the plan. Cf. Edward John Hickey, *The Society for the Propagation of the Faith* (Washington, 1922), pp. 188-189; Hickey listed no allowance to the bureau from his inspection of the archives of the society in Paris and Lyons, France.

were designed to remove any basis for the attacks of McMaster. The Washington office, he said, should confine its activities to the original purpose of negotiating with the government. Its operating expenses should be determined exactly, and this amount secured from the Indian Missionary Association or from the hierarchy. All attempts to raise funds should be separated from the work of the bureau because, said Blanchet, "he who undertakes too much, does not succeed in anything." The association itself should continue, he maintained, but under separate direction, and the publication of the *Annals* would be suspended as an economy.

These recommendations by Blanchet had already been sent to Gibbons by his brother, the Archbishop of Oregon City, but as usual the latter added a great deal more. The measures for improving the bureau were merely adjuncts to the letter; the communication itself was a strong defense of the organization itself and of Brouillet. He asked by what right a secular newspaper [the *Freeman's Journal*] had demanded that an agency approved by the hierarchy "cease, quit, disappear." That prerogative did not belong to the editor nor his paper, declared Blanchet. If any mismanagement had taken place, the remedy was not abolition of an agency so valuable to the Church but simply a reform. If Brouillet had made a mistake, the venerable prelate insisted that "nobody would dare to say that he has done it, knowing that it was not right." Blanchet asked Gibbons to move at once to stop the unjust imputations, without, however, making any suggestion as to the method.[53]

This appeal for action by Bayley's successor at Baltimore may have reached Archbishop Gibbons about the same time as a letter from Ewing. Unlike Blanchet, the general did not urge the vindication of his co-worker. Rather he asked that the archbishop tender episcopal recognition of the services of the Catholic bureau in order to strengthen and improve the

[53] AAB, 73-T-3, Blanchet to Gibbons, Portland, June 3, 1878. At the beginning of this letter Blanchet had asked that a shorter letter he had written the same day be destroyed. The latter (AAB, 73-T-2), though essentially the same, did not contain as much praise of Brouillet nor a reference to the reform measures.

work of the Washington organization and of the auxiliary bands. Both clergy and the laity had suggested the request, and Ewing was communicating it in the hope that Gibbons would bestow a word of encouragement upon all the workers in the charitable enterprise. Not the least reference was made to the criticism in the *Freeman's Journal.* However, Ewing did add that if it were granted he wanted permission to publish the approval in the forthcoming issue of the *Annals.*[54]

The archbishop, who had not been in possession of the Maryland see for a year, promptly responded that he had considered the commendation of his predecessor sufficient. "But fearing lest my silence may be, if indeed it has not already been, misconstrued," Gibbons recognized the past services of Ewing and his associates, which he hoped were the promise of greater ones to come. This approval was followed with a formal reappointment, drawn on Independence Day, 1878, of Charles Ewing as Catholic commissioner for a two-year term. Gibbons stated that he was conferring on the attorney all of the authority which had before been granted by Bayley or which was contained in the bureau's charter. Considering all the attacks they had endured, it must have been with a great deal of satisfaction that the officers of the Washington agency published the July edition of the *Annals.* Its initial page proudly carried the letter of endorsement by the new Archbishop of Baltimore.[55]

The age-old reaction by the unwilling to an argument came in the reception of Gibbons' letter by the principal critic of the bureau. What had been the source of ridicule in its absence was belittled in its appearance. In his first edition of July McMaster acknowledged receipt of a copy of the *Annals.* Briefly he commented that the qualified approval which Gibbons had given to the Washington office could not have been written the previous January. Without offering any explanation for this

[54] ABCIM, Ewing to Gibbons, Washington, June 12, 1878, copy.

[55] EC, document of appointment was dated at Baltimore, July 4, 1878, and signed by James Gibbons. *Ibid., Charter for the Control of the Catholic Indian Mission Fund,* amended on February 20, 1878. *Annals,* II (July, 1878), 33, reproduced letter of James [Gibbons] to Ewing, Leonardtown, Maryland, June 17, 1878.

assertion he promised to say more on the subject in the next *Freeman's Journal.* It must have pained the New York journalist to print on July 13 a letter from his clerical ally, who as in his previous criticisms of the bureau used the pseudonym "P.H.D." In his last scoring of the Washington office this writer had confidently declared that he would acquiesce in any approval of it by the proper ecclesiastical authorities, and he proved as good as his word. The correspondent admitted that Archbishop Gibbons had far better means for obtaining information about the affairs of the bureau than he. Without qualification he accepted the judgment which had been expressed in Gibbons' letter. He concluded his withdrawal from the ranks of opponents by prophesying that the bureau would prosper as long as it merited the approbation of the Archbishop of Baltimore.[56]

Though McMaster demonstrated his honesty in the publication of the letter of the priest, he by no means concurred in his acceptance of the word of Gibbons as sufficing for himself. The title of the product of his own pen in the same issue told the nature of its contents, for the heading was "Indictment of the Catholic Indian Bureau." Specifically Ewing was his target, most of the volleys being directed at the head of the Civil War veteran. In concluding his tirade McMaster declared he could not agree with "P.H.D." that the Archbishop of Baltimore knew the truth. Again he hinted at documents which would be printed, after which he would be glad to publish what Baltimore might have to say. If the archbishop's letter had caused the defection of one clerical supporter of McMaster, it left another considerably dampened in spirits. Dom Robot told his

---

56 *Freeman's Journal,* July 6 and 13, 1878. Mrs. Sherman, in "Documents," said that "P.H.D." was the Reverend Benjamin J. Keiley of New Castle, Delaware (later Bishop of Savannah), who had written with the approval of Bishop Thomas A. Becker of Wilmington. She said that the *Freeman's Journal* "published for the scandal of Protestants and the injury of Catholics the criticisms which could have been referred to the Archbishop of Baltimore, from whom the truth could have been learned and (had there been evil) the evil corrected."

patron that he was greatly surprised at reading the communication to Ewing and "it makes me very sad."[57]

In mid-June Gibbons had asked the Catholic commissioner to write an article on the Indian grievances for a Catholic quarterly magazine, saying that the general was the most competent writer on the topic that he could think of. At the same time, the archbishop observed that Ewing's good sense would keep him from making any allusion to the aspersions cast upon the bureau by the *Freeman's Journal*.[58] Apparently Ewing gave considerable thought to the matter, for more than two months passed before he wrote Gibbons that he would prepare the discussion of the Indian question. In the meantime the friendly relations existing were demonstrated by Ewing not hesitating to send a lengthy proposal for a national collection to finance the establishment of more schools for the children of the red race.[59] As the head of the Washington agency had been slow in accepting the writing commission, he was even more careful in the compilation. In September Father Malo wisely said that something should be printed at once rather than in the distant future, and the article should not be the sober history which Ewing was composing.[60]

Father Brouillet probably had a thought similar to Malo's when he reprimanded a friendly editor on the west coast for what the priest had regarded as a half-hearted defense of the

---

57 AUND, Robot to McMaster, Atoka, Indian Territory, June [July] 6, 1878. The Benedictine had picked many flaws in the preceding issue of the *Annals; ibid.*, Robot to MacMaster (*sic*), n.p., Indian Territory, March 16, 1878.

58 EC, James [Gibbons] to Ewing, Leonardtown, Maryland, June 15, 1878.

59 AAB, 73-V-9, Ewing to Gibbons, Washington, August 21, 1878. ABCIM, same to same, Washington, July 1, 1878, copy, asked that a national collection be established to support Indian education.

60 AAO, Malo to Bishop James O'Connor, Washington, D. C., September 14, 1878. EC, James [Gibbons] to Ewing, October 21, 1879, gave full approval to the "proof" which had been written. Files of the *American Catholic Quarterly Review,* the magazine for which Gibbons had requested the article, had nothing attributed to Ewing. AAB, 74-H-2, James A. Corcoran to Gibbons, Overbrook, Pennsylvania, January 25, 1879, advised that what was wanted by the editor was not a defense of the bureau against McMaster but a thorough disclosure of the internal corruption of the federal Indian Office.

Catholic bureau.[61] Though something may have been lacking in the published support of the organization, a number of letters of encouragement and alliance had been received. A French-Canadian had been appointed chaplain at Devil's Lake Reservation (Dakota Territory) when the Grey Nuns of Montreal undertook the instruction of the Indian children there. This priest was one of the first to speak out for the bureau. In the Northwest a Jesuit lamented the harmful effects of McMaster's pen, and thought that Brouillet's two articles from the *Catholic Mirror* should be circulated widely by pamphlet and by reprinting in other Catholic newspapers.[62] From Indiana, Father Joseph A. Stephan, who soon was to be in Indian work himself, said that McMaster's own brother regarded the New York journalist as wild and overbearing. But these and other private endorsements were not published in any newspaper. Ewing had written to McMaster the previous February that he refused to enter an arena where coarse epithets and slander were the weapons.[63]

Brouillet's use of figures to show the work of the bureau in the most favorable light reacted disastrously for a time. In the January, 1878, edition of the *Annals* the treasurer had enumerated among the receipts of the bureau the allotments from the government for the schools being operated by the Church. Among the expenses the same amounts were shown as transferred to these Indian schools at the respective reservations. Perhaps, because the bureau was not incorporated, the contracts with the government for the operation of the schools

---

61 ABCIM, Brouillet to J. S. McCormick, Washington, D. C., February 19, 1878, copy. The article may have been that in the *Catholic Sentinel* (Portland, Oregon), January 31, 1878. The New York *Tablet*, June 1, 1878, was also rather cautious in its article on "The Catholic Indian Bureau."

62 ABCIM, L[ouis] Bonin to Brouillet, Fort Totten, Dakota Territory, July 13, 1877; J[oseph] M. Cataldo, S.J., to Brouillet, San Francisco, April 18, 1878.

63 EC, Stephan to Ewing, San Pierre, Indiana, June 12, 1878. For a sketch of the life of Stephan, cf. "Monsignor Stephan," *Indian Sentinel* (1902), pp. 2-5. This letter by Ewing was addressed to the editor, *Freeman's Journal*, Washington, February 9, 1878, and after rejection for publication was printed in the New York *Tablet*, undated clipping.

had been made in the name of Brouillet and payments for fulfillment were issued to him. These drafts he endorsed to the sisters or priests who had charge of the teaching. The inclusion of the items in the report as counter-balancing entries was entirely in order, and the source of the revenue was clearly stated. However, one of the Benedictines at a Dakota agency inquired about the $3,000 listed for his reservation. Apparently he thought that it was direct aid from the bureau's treasury and not a payment from the federal government. After an exchange of several letters the missionary apologized for having asked about the matter, saying that he had been prompted to inquire solely by an inquisitive visitor.[64]

The interrogator of the Benedictine proved to have been Father Jean-Baptiste-Marie Genin, a veteran Indian missionary in Dakota Territory and Canada. After he had studied for the priesthood with the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in Ottawa, Genin had been sent to the missions for the red men in 1865. Though resigning from that religious congregation in 1876, he had continued as an itinerant missionary among the aborigines.[65] He had long been a correspondent of McMaster, who frequently published the letters of the priest in his newspaper. In the summer of 1878 Genin told about the Benedictines not being able to understand the allotment of money for their mission as printed in the *Annals*. McMaster promptly turned these remarks into more ammunition for a condemnation of the "Bogus Bureau."[66] Genin claimed that the Dakota missionaries, once friendly to the Washington officials, had been rendered hostile by recent events. Previously he had asserted that Martin Marty, the Benedictine abbot in charge of

---

64 *Annals*, II (January, 1878), 24-25; ABCIM, Jerome [Hunt], O.S.B., to Brouillet, Standing Rock, Dakota Territory, February 28, 1878; Brouillet to Jerome Hunt, O.S.B., Washington, March 4, 1878, copy; Jerome [Hunt], O.S.B., to Brouillet, Standing Rock, March 26, 1878.

65 Extrait des minutes du conseil provincial de la Province du Canada, Les Missionnaires Oblats de Marie-Immaculée, Montréal.

66 AUND, Genin to McMaster, Duluth, Minnesota, [July 20, 1878]; *ibid.*, same to same, Indian Territory, [July 29, 1878]. An example of the letters by Genin which had been published was in *Freeman's Journal*, January 20, 1877.

the Standing Rock Agency, was "pretty sore" at Brouillet, and he promised to send material for publication which would uncover the lies of the bureau. These may have been the documents at which McMaster hinted darkly in his editorial columns, but a better appraisal of the reliability of Genin stayed his hand.[67]

On an inspection tour of Catholic agencies at the end of that summer, Brouillet informed Ewing that neither Abbot Marty nor Father Jerome had given Genin the information used in his letters. The treasurer of the Indian fund believed that any remarks Marty might have uttered were no more than he himself might have made in a casual discussion. Later that fall Jerome assured Ewing that he would have liked to write a newspaper article opposing McMaster's attacks, but that his vow of obedience as a Benedictine had kept him from doing so.[68]

Robot had been unfamiliar with the purpose of the bureau and the operation of the Peace Policy, Genin was a wanderer with little liking for authority, and the third of McMaster's clerical informants was to turn out to be of doubtful character.[69] Ignatius Tomazin had started work near the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota in the early 1870's. Thenceforth his

---

67 *Ibid.*, Genin, O.M.I., to McMaster, Duluth, September 6, 1878; *ibid.*, same to same, Duluth, July 29, 1878. Genin sometimes used the initials designating the religious congregation to which he had belonged after his withdrawal from it. *Freeman's Journal*, August 17, 1878, said that it had been thought that the Catholic bureau would have folded its Tecumseh Tent, and "if it does not, *now, vanish, disappear, we will remove it!* And the implements to do it are all ready." The italics were in the newspaper.

68 ABCIM, Brouillet to Ewing, Standing Rock, September 10, 1878; Jerome Hunt, O.S.B., to Ewing, Standing Rock, November 23, 1878.

69 Relative Dom Robot, cf. Sister M. Ursula Thomas, O.S.B., *op. cit.*, p. 75. Several years later two bishops condemned Robot's conduct; AAB, 79-Y-3, Francis [A.] Janssens to Gibbons, Natchez, December 23, 1885; *ibid.*, 79-Y-7, Francis X. Leray to Gibbons, New Orleans, December 28, 1885. AAO, Genin to James O'Connor, Cypress Hills, Canadian Territory, March 3, 1878, protested his condemnation as a vagabond by C[amillus] Imoda, S.J. Tomazin's record prior to his advent at White Earth is vague. A priest named J. Tomazin was stationed at Belle Prairie, Minnesota, in 1867; possibly "I" of Ignatius had been mistaken for "J." The Washington (D.C.) *Catholic*, August 4, 1883, quoted numerous letters and statements against Tomazin, as had the New York *Times*, July 2, 1883.

prolific pen and uncontrolled tongue kept the missionary affairs of that district in a turmoil for a decade and more. The officials of the Washington office could not have been critical of McMaster for being misled by him, for they themselves had first been Tomazin's staunch advocates. After the priest had been expelled from the White Earth Reserve which had been assigned to the Episcopalians, Brouillet visited the agency in the fall of 1877. A moving account of the plight of both the Catholic Indians there and of Tomazin was written by him for the *Annals*. Soon afterwards, however, the Catholic Indian office received more information about the true state of affairs and severed contact with the priest.[70]

Father Tomazin then charged that Brouillet had acquiesced in his removal from the reservation in order to placate the federal Indian Office. This incident, plus a delay in the mails of a remittance from the Catholic bureau, gave Tomazin grounds for bolting to the opposite camp. For a time McMaster published his abusive letters, and they afforded varied if not elevating material for the editor's continued offensive against the Washington office. Though Tomazin was apt in using invective, he could teach the journalist nothing of that dubious art. Each suspicion about Ewing or his organization was spread across the pages of the *Freeman's Journal* in a lurid manner which demanded the reader's attention, even if his assent was withheld.[71]

Though the defenders of the bureau continued to maintain that its vilification in the newspaper was without factual foun-

[70] *Annals*, II (January, 1878), 2-4. ABCIM contains a heavy file of correspondence with Tomazin and about him to the federal Indian Office; e.g., *ibid.*, Ewing to Columbus Delano, July 2, 1875, filed a formal petition for the White Earth Agency as a consequence of correspondence with Tomazin. A report by General E[liphlet] Whittlesey on the situation at White Earth filled twenty-four pages in *B.I.C., 1875*, practically all of which was condemnatory of Tomazin. *C.I.A., 1875* (Washington, 1875), p. 298, published a criticism of Tomazin by Lewis Stowe, Indian agent at White Earth who was a nominee of the Episcopalian Church.

[71] AUND, Brouillet to Bishop Rupert Seidenbusch [O.S.B.], Washington, July 15, 1878; *ibid.*, Ignatius Tomazin to Reverend and dear Father [no name], White Earth, Minnesota, July 29, 1878; *ibid.*, Genin to McMaster, Duluth, August 1, [18]78. One example of Tomazin attacking the bureau was printed in the *Freeman's Journal*, July 13, 1878.

dation, the officials, nevertheless, at least acted with more caution. To bolster its prestige Brouillet asked Mrs. Sherman to accept the presidency of the Catholic Indian Missionary Association of the national capital. When he was away from Washington in September he requested Charles Lusk, secretary of the bureau, to remind the members of the board of control of the approaching quarterly meeting. Caution, however, did not imply change, and the treasurer of the Indian Fund was unmoved by proposals of that nature, even when they came from his episcopal friends, the Blanchets. In writing to his own Bishop of Nesqually, he thanked both of the brothers for the interest which had prompted their suggestions. Archbishop Blanchet had said that the hierarchy would assume the expense of the bureau if it were divorced from the missionary association. Brouillet replied that nothing would be more welcome, for, as he declared, in so doing "they will relieve me of the most unpleasant and burdensome part of my work." He hastened to add that past experience did not make him optimistic. In the five and one-half years that the commissioner's office had been in operation a total of $1,730 had been placed in the bureau's account by all the bishops, or an average of but $27 a month. With the death of Archbishop Bayley the largest annual contributor had been lost, and no one had matched his generosity. As for the associations, Brouillet saw no prospect of their continuing without his own participation in their work, a statement borne out by the priest's constant inspiring of flagging steps through letters and visits. Brouillet offered to resign from the work in Washington if the Blanchets would suggest a suitable replacement, but no answer was made to this statement.[72]

From their poor dioceses the Blanchets understandably sent very little to Washington by way of direct aid, but in addition to their strong moral backing they had indirectly supported the organization which they had inspired. The previous summer

---

[72] ABCIM, Brouillet to A.M.A. Blanchet, Washington, July 19, 1878, copy. AAB, 73-T-3, F. N. Blanchet to Gibbons, Portland, June 3, 1878, had said that "all the bishops having Indian missions will willingly furnish their quota for the expenses of the agency."

A.M.A. Blanchet had assured the priest that he would not recall him to Washington Territory if it could be avoided at all, and that the diocese would be responsible for his support.[73] During the period in which the bureau was under fire, McMaster received a letter which said that Brouillet's expenses in Washington could not be high. According to the anonymous writer, Father Charles I. White had kept the Canadian priest at St. Matthew's free of charge until he had moved to Providence Hospital, where his room and board were given him in return for his clerical services. However, except insofar as he was an official of the bureau, Brouillet was not a target at which McMaster aimed his jabs. Yet the priest could not have been pleased at being called "a scape-goat, or rather a goat which has not escaped but is being sacrificed!"[74]

In his own way McMaster had continued to battle for the Indians at the same time as he engaged in his periodic tirades against the Catholic Indian bureau. The reform administration of Rutherford B. Hayes had not brought to an end the scavengers among the helpless aborigines, and hence the *Freeman's Journal* was able to carry revelations of scandals and corruption from widely separated sections of the West. In his impeachment of the Peace Policy and its operation the New Yorker condemned the Catholic bureau for co-operating with the federal Indian Office. Ewing and Brouillet, for their part, had felt that open hostility would have deprived the Church of everything, but they could not have legitimately objected to anyone who differed with that policy.

It became quite another story, however, when the abuse in the *Freeman's Journal* shifted from Charles Ewing to his father, the former senator and cabinet officer, Thomas Ewing. Not only was the late national figure called a bitter, malignant, and unscrupulous politician, but his espousal of the Catholic religion during his last illness was ridiculed for its sincerity, or

---

73 AAS, Blanchet to Brouillet, Vancouver, June 22, 1877, copy.

74 AUND, Flat Head to Editor, *Freeman's Journal*, n.p., June 3, 1878. *Freeman's Journal*, August 17, 1878. Cf. "Charles Ignatius White," by Richard J. Purcell, *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 94-95.

supposed lack of it. The diocesan organ of Archbishop Purcell, who had received the elder Ewing into the Church, promptly came to the front for the whole Ewing family. The Cincinnati paper pointed out that the *Freeman's Journal* had given no more basis for these statements about the character of the deceased father than it had for the innuendoes which had been printed against the children, Charles Ewing and Ellen Ewing Sherman. In other newspapers, both religious and secular, McMaster was rebuked for this assault on the memory of the dead, but the unfavorable reception appeared to incite rather than daunt the New York journalist. Two days after the defense of the Ewings in the *Catholic Telegraph,* the *Freeman's Journal* came out with two articles berating the "so-called Catholic Indian Bureau," in one of which the endorsement of Archbishop Gibbons was further disparaged. Unsigned letters from Fathers Tomazin and Genin were added to the barrage.[75]

Two weeks later the New York paper hurled invective at its Cincinnati contemporary for having defended anyone connected with the bureau, and especially the direct object of scorn, the Ewing family. Some of the previous criticism of Thomas Ewing was withdrawn, though he was still termed a mediocre politician. But on the son with the same given name, the "blatherskite Congressman," Thomas Ewing of Ohio, abuse was now poured. McMaster denied that his antagonism to the Ewings was a bitter aftermath of the Civil War. During that struggle Charles Ewing had been the executor in Louisville of the government's order suppressing the *Freeman's Journal* as a "copperhead" paper. McMaster disclaimed knowledge of the general having had anything to do with the enforcement of the federal ruling. However, he declared the name of Tom Ewing was anathema in the State of Missouri. This brother of Charles, also a general in the Union forces, had issued what

[75] *Catholic Telegraph* (Cincinnati), August 29, 1878, replied to the article entitled, "The Humbug 'Catholic Indian Bureau,'" in the *Freeman's Journal,* August 17, 1878. Other papers which took up the defense of the memory of Thomas Ewing included the *Catholic Herald* (New York) and the Mt. Vernon (Ohio) *Banner.*

McMaster called "Order No. 100." Under this directive western Missouri counties were cleared of southern sympathizers, and for this McMaster declared Tom Ewing was held in universal execration in the border state. Other than the reflection cast upon the name of Ewing in the minds of some ex-Confederates, McMaster did not bring out how the northern military measure had reference to what he called the "Bogus Bureau."[76] After some of his attacks had run their course this journalist would observe that it was best "to end a discussion not to edification." At least in that feeling perfect agreement existed between him and Ellen Ewing Sherman. This lady contended that the vilification carried in the *Freeman's Journal* had cooled the charity toward the Indians of her fellow-members of the Church while at the same time scandalizing everyone who read it.

If the average Catholic man and woman were reluctant to support the bureau while it was being savagely assaulted and the family of the commissioner threatened with disrepute, more prominent figures in the Church also were influenced in various degrees. In the spring Miss Holohan had notified Brouillet that the *Catholic Standard* of Philadelphia would not accept an article supporting the bureau which had been written by Father St. Onge. The owner, George D. Wolff, had refused to abide by his prior promise, saying that "he did not wish a pot emptied on his head." The reservations in Dakota Territory had become the object of special attention by the Washington officials, as will be treated in some detail later. Though a break never occurred, a certain coolness developed between Abbot Martin Marty, the Benedictine missionary superior there, and Brouillet. In February of that year 1878 Brouillet asked the abbot to come to Washington in order that a better understand-

---

76 *Freeman's Journal*, September 14, 1878. The same line was followed in "Cloaking Misdeeds by Family Influence," *ibid.*, September 28, 1878. For the suppression of the *Freeman's Journal* during the Civil War, cf. Kwitchen, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-144. "Order No. 100" was Order No. 11, issued by General Thomas Ewing on August 25, 1861; *Official Manual, State of Missouri, 1947-1948* (Jefferson City, 1948), p. 27.

"ORDER NO. 11"

From the painting by George Caleb Bingham. The original is the property of the State Historical Society of Missouri and is reproduced by courtesy of that society. The mounted officer in the center of the group is said to represent General Thomas Ewing.

ing might be reached, offering to pay the expenses of the trip.[77]

In addition to the abuse published in the *Freeman's Journal* Marty may have been influenced adversely by private correspondence. Joseph A. Stephan, Indian agent at Dakota's Standing Rock Reservation, told Ewing that he had seen a letter from McMaster to Abbot Martin which contained many "mean expressions against Mrs. Dahlgreen (*sic*) and Mrs. Gl. Sherman." Stephan himself, who owed his position as agent to the Catholic bureau, was a loyal supporter of the organization. He wrote several letters in favor of it to Abbot Martin and to Bishop O'Connor, in whose vicariate Dakota was at that time. In his estimation, however, the husband of Ellen Ewing, General William T. Sherman, hated all priests.[78]

Both Bishop O'Connor and Abbot Martin disagreed with the policy of the Washington office in co-operating with the federal Indian department. Each thought Brouillet had made a mistake in allying with the Department of the Interior in opposition to the transference of Indian affairs to the War Department, a proposal which again came before Congress in the 1878 session. McMaster was of the same frame of mind but expressed his views much more openly than anyone else con-

---

77 ABCIM, Amanda F. A. Holohan to Brouillet, Philadelphia, March 6, 1878; Brouillet to Martin Marty, O.S.B., Washington, February 1, 1878, copy.

78 EC, J[oseph] A. Stephan to Ewing, Standing Rock, Dakota Territory, November 14, 1878, reported having seen the five-page letter, dated January 11, 1877. Madeline Vinton Dahlgren was the widow of Admiral John A. B. Dahlgren. *Ibid.*, same to same, Standing Rock, July 10, 1879, said he had read the letter in full but Father Jerome refused to give it to him for fear of being suspended by Abbot Martin. *Ibid.*, same to same, Standing Rock, December 19, 1878, said he had written a stirring letter to Abbot Martin, asking him to come out in favor of the bureau, and Martin had replied that the letter had been given to Bishop Chatard. However, AAI contains no letters from Marty to Chatard. AAO, Stephan to J[ames] O'Connor, Standing Rock, December 14, 1878, asked for the bishop's support of the bureau against attacks by "floating minds." In the same letter Stephan made the statement about General Sherman and also Philip H. Sheridan, saying "I know both." McAllister, in *Ellen Ewing*, pp. 349-350, recounted General Sherman's intense disappointment when his son Thomas renounced bright prospects for a secular career to commence studies preparatory to becoming a Jesuit priest.

cerned with the legislation.[79] But the sniping at Brouillet, whether it was blatant or surreptitious, failed ever to weaken the faith of his bishop. When A.M.A. Blanchet announced the resignation of his see in 1879 he used the occasion to have published a strong endorsement of the priest. He believed there was absolutely no foundation for any of the charges which had been made against the former missionary in the *Freeman's Journal.*[80]

But other bishops, not so well acquainted with the person or his character, withdrew support from Father Brouillet and his office under the constant pounding from the New York paper. In January, 1878, Bishop Tobias Mullen of Erie expressed deep regret at his inability to give financial assistance to the Catholic agency, saying that after diocesan expenses had been met hardly enough money was left to pay his board. With the passage of nine months of recrimination in the *Freeman's Journal* the bishop was not nearly so cordial. Upon being asked to sign a joint letter of episcopal endorsement three curt lines were enough to convey Mullen's determination not to be involved in the controversy in any way. His fellow Pennsylvania bishop, John Tuigg of Pittsburgh, was of the same mind and so expressed himself to Brouillet.[81]

Since the aspersions which McMaster cast at the Catholic bureau and at the Ewings were never substantiated, it appeared that an old Indian missionary had the correct interpretation of the failure of the hierarchy to ally itself against the New York

---

79 AAB, 74-A-5, James O'Connor to Gibbons, Omaha, October 13, 1878, asked the Archbishop of Baltimore to support the transfer of Indian affairs to the War Department. Kwitchen, *op. cit.*, p. 207, said "McMaster could not dissociate the Catholic Bureau from the ill-famed Indian office." As another explanation for McMaster's hostility Kwitchen here said that his crusade had a priority of time over the bureau's campaign for funds, which is not in accord with the records.

80 AAS, Blanchet to Editor, *Catholic Sentinel,* Vancouver, October 18, 1879, copy. Aegidius Junger, who had been vicar general since 1876, was consecrated the second Bishop of Nesqually on October 28, 1879; Sister Marian Josephine Thomas, S.H.N., "Abbé Jean-Baptiste Abraham Brouillet," p. 90.

81 ABCIM, T[obias] Mullen to Ewing, Erie, January 15, 1878; T[obias Mullen] to Brouillet, Erie, October 29, 1878; J[ohn] Tuigg to Brouillet, Pittsburgh, October 29, 1878.

editor. Father Malo told the Vicar Apostolic of Nebraska while the *Freeman's Journal's* bitterest blasts were going forth in September, 1878, that most of the clergy and many of the laity had said that the bishops dreaded the unruly and vicious tongue of McMaster. Apparently they agreed that flight was the best policy for themselves.[82] The journalist gloried in the reputation acquired by his editorial tirades. He frankly told Cardinal McCloskey two years later that he had learned that his paper "carries [i.e., supported] its friends and *prospers by the enemies it makes!*"[83] Later another bishop said that he wished the paper he regarded as impertinent and infamous had been punished. Though he had contributed to the purse of the bureau, this prelate had not ventured to defend the organization publicly while McMaster was bombarding it with verbal mud.[84]

Despite the clouds and the lightning familiar Indian problems continued to receive attention from the officials of the bureau. Though McMaster had taken up a charge by Dom Robot that the Osage nation was being neglected by the Washington office, the chiefs continued to place their dependence there. Several of the leaders of this nation called the attention of the Secretary of the Interior to the petitions for Catholic schools previously filed directly or through the bureau. In 1877 an Osage chieftain had written Ewing that 140 of the nation's children were being instructed by Catholic sisters. These teachers were not, however, receiving any compensation at all from the government. This condition had not been remedied a year later, when the old Jesuit missionary, Father Schoenmakers, declared that over a million dollars of money belonging to these Indians had been spent in the preceding seven

---

82 AAO, Malo to O'Connor, Washington, D. C., September 14, 1878. Malo had been an Indian missionary for twenty years in Oregon, according to this letter.

83 AANY, McMaster to McCloskey, New York, March 15, 1880. The italics were in McMaster's letter. In "Documents" Mrs. Sherman asserted that McCloskey had banned the delivery of *Freeman's Journal* to his cathedral residence.

84 *Ibid.*, James Aug. Healy to M[ichael] A. Corrigan, Augusta, Maine, June 17, 1883.

years. Still, not one cent was being allowed for the Catholic schools and teachers for which they begged and which had been guaranteed by their treaty of 1865 with the United States.[85]

A complaint similar to the Osages was made by the Indians along Lake Superior. When Brouillet had gone to the territory around the Great Lakes in 1877 he had reported 20,000 Indians were being tended by five priests, who had white parishioners as well. The two schools which he found being conducted for Catholic children received an addition in 1879, when the Franciscan Sisters opened a boarding school for the Chippewas at LaPointe, Wisconsin. From the Northwest the name of John B. Monteith, agent for the Nez Percés in Idaho, reached the House of Representatives in Washington where he was denounced in the legislative chamber by the territorial delegate. When the federal government had given the Catholics permission to erect a church for the members of the faith among the tribesmen, Monteith had vigorously opposed the order in 1874. The skirmishing between him and the Jesuit missionary, Joseph Cataldo, broke out again in 1877 when he charged the Catholic priest with causing dissatisfaction among the Nez Percés. The prompt denial by Cataldo might not have been convincing to all, even though it was supported by Congressman Stephen S. Fenn. But Monteith's true opinion was revealed when he endorsed sending this Jesuit to pacify a neighboring tribe which was threatening to go on the warpath. Monteith finally gave way in 1879 to Charles D. Warner on this reservation at Lapwai controlled by the Presbyterian Church. In 1882 the same family had the position of agent again in the person of Charles E. Monteith.[86]

---

85 EC, Augustus Captain, Joseph Pah, and Hard Rope of the Osage Nation to Charles Schutz [Carl Schurz], Harmoney Fall [no state], March 22, 1878; Augustus Captain to Ewing, Pawhuska, Indian Territory, April 14, 1877; John Schoenmakers, S.J., to Ewing, Osage Mission, Neosho County, Kansas, April 6, 1878. Sister M. Ursula Thomas, O.S.B., *op. cit.*, discussed this treaty of the Osages at length, especially in pp. 133-137.

86 *Annals*, II (July, 1878), 35-42. The Lewiston (Idaho Territory) *Teller* printed Monteith's letter of February 28, 1877, and those of Cataldo and Fenn on March 7, 1877. Cf. *B.I.C., 1879* (Washington, 1880), p. 90; *ibid., 1882* (Washington, 1883), p. 62.

Naturally the personnel of the bureau, though giving attention to such matters as these, regarded the suspicion and doubt generated by the articles in the *Freeman's Journal* as gravely serious. Answers by the officers or the approving testimony of friends inevitably would not travel as far nor be as long remembered, as the lurid charges of the journalist. Very early a personal appeal to Rome was the course decided. Brouillet's Philadelphia correspondent, Miss Holohan, whose allusion to the journey already has been mentioned, no doubt was reflecting his own mind when she hoped that by this trip everything would be settled.[87] That was in March of 1878, and the summer passed without any definite plan, though it probably was the topic of considerable discussion between Brouillet and General Ewing. The bombast of McMaster during this period in no degree slackened, that the need for the expedition might have been discounted.

And though the commissioner's office had escaped the danger of extinction through financial starvation, the acute problem of support lacked a permanent solution. Two cries of distress from the West exemplified the dire straits of some of the missionary bishops, the very ones the bureau could have helped had an assured revenue been forthcoming. On June 28 Bishop O'Connor of Nebraska appealed to the Archbishop of New York for money to support missionaries who would carry the word of God to the 50,000 red men in his vicariate. The bishop admitted that it was not a propitious time for asking for aid, and the words were too true. The unemployment then prevalent in the industrial eastern United States reached a spectacular crisis when the Baltimore and Ohio made another reduction in wages on July 1, about the time O'Connor's letter was delivered. Federal troops were called out to quell the riots in which scores were killed. Trouble in the coal mining districts of Pennsylvania ended in the execution of ten members of the secret society called the "Molly Maguires." Yet O'Connor truthfully stated that the Indians were as much spiritual

[87] ABCIM, Amanda F. A. Holohan to Brouillet, Philadelphia, March 6, 1878.

wards of the Church as they were civil wards of the nation. He prayed that Catholics would not be held accountable for neglecting these copper-skinned children.[88]

Later that fall Abbot Martin told Brouillet of the chiefs of Sioux having declared publicly that "black gowns" were the only kind of teachers wanted for their people. All the missionaries needed to answer that plea could not be supplied simply because of lack of funds. Thinking no doubt of the straitened circumstances of the working people, Marty said that the poor could still help by praying that God would open the hearts of the rich Catholics. The Benedictine thought the latter had not yet responded properly to the needs of their red brethren.[89] Both O'Connor and Marty referred to the schools which had been opened for the Sioux on the assurances made by the Department of the Interior to the Catholic bureau. However, in view of the past history of that governmental division they were not hopeful that the promises would be fulfilled.

Though the sum was in no way comparable with the cost of the teaching enterprises in that one section of the West which was under O'Connor's jurisdiction, a donation had been received by the bureau which was the largest to come from a single diocese during this entire period. In the second issue of the *Annals* mention was made that the Bishop of Alton had made a collection for the bureau's work, and receipt of some $3,000 was anticipated shortly. Contrary to the usual rule, the expectation was surpassed by the actuality, for the next financial report of the Indian organization credited $4,500 to the Illinois diocese. That sizable amount had been gathered by collections in the parish churches at the direction of Bishop Peter J. Baltes. Aside from these brief notices in the official organ, nothing else was said of the outstanding contribution other than that mutual congratulations were exchanged between Brouillet and Ewing.[90] The lack of evidence from any extant

[88] Guilday Collection, O'Connor to McCloskey, Omaha, June 28, 1878, copy.

[89] ABCIM, Martin [Marty, O.S.B.] to [Brouillet], Yankton, Dakota Territory, October 9, 1878.

[90] *Annals*, I (July, 1877), 56; *ibid.*, II (January, 1878), 28, 30-31. EC, Brouillet to Ewing, Chicago, October 27, 1879.

correspondence has made it no more than conjecture to attribute the exceptional effort by Baltes to his dislike for the *Freeman's Journal.* Because he believed that the newspaper promoted discord, in the spring of 1879 the Bishop of Alton prohibited the faithful of his diocese from reading it at all.[91]

Father Brouillet therefore had two impelling reasons for going to Europe. Having negotiated a contract with the federal government for the establishment of an industrial school and farm at the Standing Rock Reservation, Father Brouillet went to Dakota in the early autumn of 1878 to get the project under way. Malo took his place in the Washington office during the trip to the Vicariate of Nebraska and he was then authorized to handle finances during Brouillet's absence abroad.[92] A report on the Sioux missions was requested from Bishop O'Connor for exhibition in Rome. It probably was something similar to the long letter which that bishop had sent to New York in June. A letter which had been prepared by Archbishop Gibbons, probably a joint endorsement by some of the hierarchy, was likewise sent to Omaha for O'Connor's signature. From a document issued by one of the Roman congregations in the following January it was apparent that a number of letters and reports of this nature were presented by the priest as indicative of the work for the Indian in which the American Church was engaged.[93]

---

91 Kwitchen, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-198. The *Freeman's Journal,* March 1, 1879, carried the story of the interdict by Baltes.

92 ABCIM, Brouillet to A. G. Porter, First Comptroller, U. S. Treasury Department, Washington, October 18, 1879, said in part: "Between October 1, 1878, and September 15, 1879—during which time I was absent from the country." Actually Brouillet spent October in preparations for his departure. *Ibid.*, Ewing to George W. Riggs, Washington, November 6, 1878, notified that J. F. Malo would sign checks instead of Brouillet; both copies.

93 AAO, Brouillet to [James O'Connor], Washington, October 26, 1878, requested Gibbons' letter be signed; notation in O'Connor's handwriting stated that an answer was sent October 28; ABCIM, T[obias Mullen] to Brouillet, Erie, October 29, 1878, and J[ohn] Tuigg to Brouillet, Pittsburgh, October 29, 1878, refused to sign the letter because of the controversy with the *Freeman's Journal.* EC, acknowledgment in Latin from Giovanni Cardinal Simeoni to Very Rev. J. Brouillet, Vicar General of the Diocese of Nesqually, Congregation of the Propaganda, Rome, January 22, 1879, said the documents concerning the Indians had been read with pleasure. Brouillet had continued to sign his letters as V.G. [vicar general] though the Nesqually office at least had a co-occupant from January 28, 1876, when Aegidius Junger was appointed; Sister Marian Josephine Thomas, S.H.N., *op. cit.*, p. 90.

During the first week of November the spiritual director of the bureau sailed for Europe for the purpose of securing an endorsement which would be both a bulwark against assaults and an inspiration to the charity of the faithful. A third motive was never mentioned in his letters but has been given by the historian of the parish to which Brouillet had been assigned as a young Canadian priest in 1842. This writer said that the treasurer of the bureau had made the trip in an effort to repair his greatly enfeebled health. Though his ecclesiastical mission was successful, he returned to Washington weaker than when he had left.[94]

The first destination of the European trip was France. Later from Rome Brouillet reported that there he had attempted to interest the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in underwriting the expenses of the bureau. In his writing and his lectures the priest had been fond of comparing the Catholic Indian Missionary Association with this French charitable organization. His plan of small regular donations from bands of members undoubtedly had been taken from the method devised for the society's collections. The lack of episcopal sanction for his scheme probably was an insurmountable obstacle to his obtaining approval for the Catholic Indian bureau. Then too, the object of the charitable work of the Indian office may have been too specialized and limited for the catholic outlook of the society. In any event, Brouillet spent some time in France revising his papers for presentation in Rome, doing this in accord with the better information on procedure which he had gathered abroad.[95]

Brouillet may have arrived in the Eternal City in time for Christmas, for his first letter from there was written on December 30. He told General Ewing that on that Monday he had his initial interview with Cardinal Simeoni, the Prefect of

---

[94] J. D. Brosseau, O.P., *St-Georges d'Henryville et la Seigneurie de Noyan* (Saint Hyacinthe, 1913), p. 154.

[95] EC, Brouillet to Ewing, Rome, January 17, 1879. ABCIM, Amanda F. A. Holohan to Ewing, Philadelphia, November 24, 1878, remarked that Brouillet had been in France one week.

the Congregation of the Propaganda. His reaction was a mixture of exultation and caution, for he was confident of good results, and at the same time he counselled that the general act slowly and prudently.[96] Two weeks later he had finished his formal petition and was having it printed. He asked Ewing to have Father Malo translate it for him (the memorial was in Latin), that the general might know what every bishop of the United States was to receive. Brouillet said the hierarchy would be asked by Cardinal McCloskey to give their views about his petition, and that the Roman congregation was optimistic that the American bishops would approve. Then he added a sentence concerning an event which was precious to him personally as a Catholic and a priest. He said: "Tomorrow we will have a private audience from His Holiness." Everything was ready for the interview with Pope Leo XIII except some maps he had wanted to show but which had not yet come.[97]

The next time the priest reported to the commissioner he included many details of what was being proposed by him in Rome. Much of this must have been decided upon after Brouillet had sailed from the United States, for no reference was made to prior discussions. The plan which had then been submitted to the Roman congregation was that a fund would be gathered, based on a rate of two cents per capita for the whole Catholic population of the United States. To the respective bishops would be left the method of raising the amount due from a diocese; in fact, this collection or assessment might be deferred indefinitely. In the meantime the bishop would send an amount each year for the support of the bureau which would

---

96 EC, same to same, Rome, December 30, 1878. The Society for the Propagation of the Faith collected alms for needy sections in the Church; the Congregation of the Propaganda was a division of the Roman Curia for the government of the missionary areas of the Universal Church.

97 *Ibid.*, same to same, Rome, January 14, 1879. The maps to which Brouillet referred probably included an ecclesiastical map of the United States which had been compiled in the Catholic Indian bureau and sent to the hierarchy; Guilday Collection, Ewing to [McCloskey], Washington, December 10, 1875; EC, McCloskey to Ewing, New York, December 15, 1875; AAB, Ewing to Bayley, Washington, December 23, 1875.

be equivalent to interest on the quota for his diocese. The fund was to be raised on one occasion only, and the proceeds would be placed in the hands of the Cardinal of New York and three other archbishops. From the income derived from investing the funds the expenses of the Indian office would be paid by this committee of archbishops.

Though Brouillet's proposal provided for the collection, safekeeping, and use of the money, he did not conceive of it as the sole possible solution of the support of the bureau. Any other plan which would achieve the same result would suit him just as well, he wrote to the commissioner, but he had fashioned this proposition as a starting point for negotiations. His own understandable enthusiasm was bolstered by the officials of the Propaganda, who said they anticipated no objection to a scheme which would accomplish so much at so small a cost. For Brouillet it meant the attainment of the primary object of his journey, the safe and permanent support of the Washington office. While Propaganda did not demand unanimous assent, the officials would not grant a definitive approval until the bishops of the United States had expressed themselves. For this reason Brouillet suggested that Ewing go at once to see Cardinal McCloskey to enlist his direction and support.

Brouillet planned to go on to the American College at Louvain, and on his way to Belgium the priest wrote to McCloskey from Paris. Before leaving Rome he had sent a copy of the original petition or memorial, as he called it, to every bishop in the United States, and while the replies were coming in to McCloskey the priest would stay in Belgium. On his return to Rome he intended seeing the Paris secretary of the council of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in a second effort to win from that body a substantial donation. Brouillet did not so state, but he must have anticipated that the cardinal himself would write to the hierarchy in favor of the plan. Anyway, the Roman congregation had declared that it would await the advices of the bishops of the United States about helping the Indian work. Brouillet told McCloskey that he was full of

confidence about the program which Rome was going to entrust to the protection of New York.[98]

However, no evidence was found that the Archbishop of New York wrote to the respective bishops or that he endorsed the assessment of each diocese for the support of the bureau. As the priest brought back no letters he had receievd on his European trip, the plan he had devised for the support of the bureau came to an abrupt end so far as the records are concerned with this letter to McCloskey. Neither he nor anyone else ever made further reference to it. With a broader view than that which the specialized interest of the priest fostered, the archbishop may have decided that the growing Church in the United States was not then prepared to assume the added burden which the proposal entailed.

Brouillet was abroad for almost eleven months, and during all that time he retained his burning interest in the domestic affairs of the Catholic bureau. From across the Atlantic he called to Ewing's attention letters to be answered or to be composed, gave directions about the continuance of the Catholic Indian Missionary Association, and kept in touch with the progress of legislation in Congress. That his practical concern for the Indians and those in charge of them was not obscured by his quest for papal approbation of the movement, was convincingly demonstrated by his action in Belgium. As has been mentioned, arrangements had been made with a banking firm for the handling of the account of the bureau in the absence of its treasurer. A difficulty arose in the payments from the government for the contract schools operated by Catholics. The agreements were drawn between the Indian Office and Brouillet personally, and he in turn endorsed the drafts received in payment and sent them to the sisters or priests who were conducting the institutions. Malo had advised him in January that the Treasury Department had not considered him sufficiently au-

---

98 AANY, Brouillet to McCloskey, Paris, February 14, 1879. A copy of Brouillet's memorial was attached to this letter; another copy is in AAB, 74-G-11.

thorized to sign the drafts for Brouillet. The priest was in mortal anguish because subsequent letters from Malo, Ewing, and Colonel Hunter had discussed everything save the drafts and the payments to the schools.

Well aware that the treasury of the bureau was not ample enough to tide the situation over until the date of his anticipated return, Brouillet rushed an inquiry as to whether the proper quarterly allotments had been forwarded to the Indian schools. If not, he said that he would sacrifice everything for which he had gone to Europe in order to see that the teachers had their just salaries and the schools might be saved. Ewing was requested to telegraph immediately upon receipt of the letter. If he answered that the drafts were still awaiting endorsement, Brouillet would leave for the United States on the first boat. Haste and anxiety did not, however, cause the priest to forget the necessity of holding down the expenses of his organization. He included a code whereby extra words at $1.10 each would be avoided in the cablegram.[99]

That crisis having been surmounted satisfactorily, Brouillet was in Rome again in June. His mission was crowned with success by a formal approval which Giovanni Cardinal Simeoni bestowed on the bureau and its work. The essence of the document, given at the Congregation of the Propaganda on June 13, was the following statement:

> I fervently recommend in the Lord the above-mentioned organization to all the bishops of the United States of North America, and beseech them to favor and efficaciously aid the same in such manner as to them may seem most advisable.[100]

Though the recommendation left to the individual bishops both the method and the amount of support to be channeled to the Catholic bureau, the Roman approval pleased its treasurer im-

---

[99] EC, Brouillet to Ewing, Alost, Belgium, March 3, 1879.

[100] *The Work of the Decade*, pp. 10-11, gave a translation of the letter of Simeoni to Brouillet, Rome, June 13, 1879, which included the passage quoted.

mensely. This success did not satiate his appetite, however, which, as he observed, was increased by eating. Several more weeks he remained in Rome, striving to secure canonical establishment of the charitable work for the Indians. He did not elaborate upon his desire, as he had with the program of a nation-wide assessment of Catholics for the support of the Washington agency, so his actual plan must remain a subject of speculation. He admitted that strong opposition had been forecast for his proposal; contrary to his expectation when he wrote, the obstacles must have been too great for him to overcome.[101]

Optimism about one project never clouded Brouillet's vision for other approaches. Both from Rome and while on his journey homeward he wrote of seeking financial assistance from mission-minded French Catholics. Brouillet's Gallic ancestry and his predilection for the system employed by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith no doubt fostered these fresh attempts for succor from the citizens of the Third Republic. He authorized an agent to act for the bureau in France, and later he advised that the newspaper *Le Monde* would publish a series of articles on the American Indians and Father De-Smet. All this was in the fond hope of promoting contributions to the work then current among the tribesmen. While these roseate expectations were not fully realized, the *Annals* did list a surprising number of donations from French people during the next two years. Brouillet left Liverpool for New York aboard the *Baltic* of the White Star Line on September 2, and was in Washington again by the middle of the month. Nor had he overlooked the amenities, having stopped at Roehampton in England to visit the son of General and Mrs. Sherman, who was studying there to become a Jesuit priest.[102]

What had happened during Brouillet's absence in the feud between the bureau and James A. McMaster? A couple of incidents which took place in that interval were favorable to the Washington office and indicative, too, of a waning ardor

101 EC, Brouillet to Ewing, Rome, June 25, 1879.

102 *Ibid.*, same to same, Dublin, August 16, 1879. The *Annals*, II (July, 1881), 25-27, listed the French donors.

for the pursuit on the part of the New York journalist. About a month after Brouillet had sailed for France the *Wahrheitsfreund* of Cincinnati, a prominent Catholic journal in the German language, published the remarks of General John Gibbon. This army leader was renowned in the 1870's for his part in the wars with the Indians. Gibbon condemned the agents on reservations assigned to the Protestants as doing little to guide the red man to heaven and in the meantime certainly giving him a hell on earth. The general contended that federal appropriations would benefit the tribesmen instead of the agents if the Indian Office were transferred to the War Department. The newspaper agreed that this move was in accord with the desire of Catholic missionaries in the Northwest, whose experience with the army corps had been happy.[103]

On the first day of 1879 the *Wahrheitsfreund* published a reply to General Gibbon which was at the same time an endorsement of the Catholic bureau. The writer had the mistaken opinion that the army officer had intended to castigate all Indian agents. Accordingly, the correspondent pointed to the men in this capacity at Standing Rock and Devil's Lake (Dakota Territory) as Catholics who were working earnestly for the Sioux on these reservations. Secretary of the Interior Schurz was praised for his co-operation with these agents as well as for his personal interest in the welfare of the redskins. The bad example given to the Sioux at Standing Rock by the military quartered there was taken as a sample of the general demoralization which was feared from the War Department assuming control of all Indian affairs. The Indian boys who delighted in serving Mass for the missionaries, in the opinion of the writer, would all too quickly learn to drink and gamble.

---

[103] *Wahrheitsfreund* (Cincinnati), December 11, 1878. ABCIM, Eugene C. Chirouse, O.M.I., to Brouillet, Tulalip Agency, Washington Territory, March 22, 1876, had warmly favored the transfer then proposed of the Indian Office to the War Department because he believed the Indians would thereby gain freedom in religion. Two accounts of Indian wars were written by Gibbon during these years for the *American Catholic Quarterly Review;* "Hunting Sitting Bull," II (October, 1877), 665-694, and "The Pursuit of Joseph," IV (April, 1879), 317-344.

In concluding the article the *Wahrheitsfreund* gave an instance in support of Indian affairs being kept in the custody of the Department of the Interior which at the same time praised the work of the Catholic bureau. After Sitting Bull had wiped out Custer's force at the Little Big Horn in the summer of 1876 the Army temporarily took over the Standing Rock Reservation. The officer in charge, Captain Robert E. Johnston, had filed charges that the Benedictine missionary there, Abbot Martin, was among other things living upon government rations. The newspaper credited General Ewing with having answered the complaint successfully and thereby having kept the abbot from being expelled from the reserve.[104] Since then the Sioux children had been instructed by teachers who were supported from funds obtained through the Catholic bureau. Because the *Wahrheitsfreund* was widely read by German Catholics the implicit defense of the Washington office through this previously unpublished story must have favorably influenced this important segment of the Church in the United States.[105]

Another issue of the *Annals,* the publication of the commissioner's office which had infuriated McMaster so much in 1878 especially, made its appearance early in 1879. The *Catholic Mirror* hailed it enthusiastically, saying that its facts and figures demonstrated "the hard, faithful and successful work of Father Brouillet and his associates." What might have been intended as a passing slap at McMaster was the conclusion of the Baltimore paper's comment in these words: "The managers of this work of divine charity need no other vindication than their own truthful yet modest account of their stewardship."[106]

---

104 RBIA, L.R., Standing Rock, J 953, Johnston to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Standing Rock, Dakota Territory, October 3, 1876; ABCIM, Ewing to J. Q. Smith, Washington, November 2, 1876, copy, pointed out that Marty had acted in accordance with Article 7 of the Indians' treaty of February 16, 1869, with the United States Government. The legal acumen of Ewing was apparent in his dissection of Johnston's complaint.

105 *Wahrheitsfreund* (Cincinnati), January 1, 1879, in an article entitled, *"Aus der Indianerlande."* EC, Stephan to Ewing, Standing Rock, December 19, 1878, had predicted that "There will be a nice article in defense of the Cath. Bureau in the *Wahrheits-freund* of Cincinnati."

106 *Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore), February 8, 1879.

The editor of the *Freeman's Journal* did not accept the challenge, if it were so intended. His attention to the affairs of the Catholic bureau was soon to be diverted by the suppression of his publication in the Diocese of Alton by Bishop Baltes.

While the barbs of criticism were becoming dulled in America Brouillet was in Europe, apparently making a trip that was inspired, or at least accelerated, by the jibes of McMaster. Notwithstanding, not a single reference to the subject was made in any of his letters. The approbation from the Congregation of the Propaganda was, of course, complete refutation of the journalist's contention that the bureau had nothing more than an approval written by the dead hand of Archbishop Bayley. Then, too, McMaster had a deep and abiding respect for papal authority which was not always matched in his comments on episcopal jurisdiction and action.[107] The final answer to the total lack of discussion of the newspaper and its torrent of abuse was given by Ellen Ewing Sherman. She had sent a carefully compiled disproof of the articles by McMaster and his correspondents to the treasurer of the bureau to be presented in Rome according to his judgment. The brief was brought back unused because—to quote Mrs. Sherman—"the N[ew] Y[ork] F[reeman's] J[ournal] is there unknown."[108]

In retrospect, then, the New York convert-editor belonged to the school of journalists who espoused no cause half-heartedly. During the first years of the Catholic bureau he paid only passing heed to its activities, though at the same time he was critical of the treatment of the Indians by the federal government. The latent ardor of the newspaperman was aroused by a description of the Herculean task undertaken by Dom Robot in Indian Territory. Once McMaster had become the champion of the Benedictine missionary, he wanted all other Indian projects relegated to an inferior, secondary status. Several other eccentrics among the Indian missionaries joined Robot in

---

107 Henry Brownson, *Brownson's Middle Life* (Detroit, 1896), p. 446.

108 Ellen Ewing Sherman, "Documents."

supplying the *Freeman's Journal* with incidents which were distorted for the readers of the New York paper.

As the *Freeman's Journal* was not a diocesan organ, it was subject to no direct episcopal supervision. Even the violation of prudence and good taste did not impel Catholic bishops to challenge McMaster and his biting tongue and pen. Consequently, save for counsels of caution, the Catholic bureau received little direct aid in the strife. However, both Charles Ewing and the Indian organization were given distinctive proofs of the approval of the Holy See. While even this praise did not quiet McMaster entirely, he at least ceased making the Catholic bureau and the Ewing family the special targets of his editorial cannonades.

One writer has regarded McMaster as triumphant in the contest because the money he had sought for Dom Robot had been obtained.[109] At best the victory was a Pyrrhic conquest. Friend and foe alike had been scandalized by his abuse, the nascent charity of American Catholics toward the red men was chilled, and the boast of the editor that the Catholic commissioner's office would be made to "cease, quit, disappear" never was realized. Brouillet was once more at his accustomed post as the co-worker and associate of General Ewing. He still impressed observers as being fully deserving of the words applied to him thirty years before by the ecclesiastical administrator of California, who wrote: "I have no other friend as capable and punctual as yourself."[110]

---

109 Sister M. Ursula Thomas, O.S.B., *op. cit.*, p. 266.

110 AAS, José Mariá de Jesús González Rubio to Brouillet, n.p. California, August 9, 1849.

CHAPTER VI

OPERATIONS AMONG THE SIOUX OF DAKOTA

William H. Ketcham, director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions in the first years of the twentieth century, once observed that the organization came into existence "as a measure of expediency bordering closely upon necessity."[1] If not the cause, the Peace Policy certainly had been the occasion for impressing upon the Catholic bishops of the United States the need of a representative in the nation's capital. From a temporary legate their agent developed into an accredited commissioner; he, in turn, sought and obtained the establishment of an office in 1874 as permanent headquarters. This child had been born without provision having been made for its continued support. Hence, in the beginning a great deal of the attention of its officers was directed toward securing enough income to cover the bare costs of operation. For several years doubt persisted as to whether the Washington office could even be kept open.

That problem of finances had not been settled satisfactorily when the bureau was drawn into another struggle. This proved the cruelest and most damaging of battles, for it was civil war within the Church. With heads a trifle "bloody but unbowed" that test had been survived by the officers. Undismayed though not unharmed, they continued to make the Washington office the focal point of Catholic Indian mission activity. Limitations of space prohibit a detailed review of the transactions to and from each of the reservations, or even of all those assigned to the Catholics under Grant's plan. Two reasons seem to render Dakota Territory the best section for closer inspection of operations. First, the large number of Indians there was divided among various religious groups, thus bringing into actuality almost all of the problems of the Catholic bureau dur-

[1] Ketcham, "Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, VII, 745.

ing the life of the government's Peace Policy. In addition, national interest was drawn to Dakota in these years by Custer's massacre and the flight of Sitting Bull, both of which were to affect the operation of the reservations and the missions attached to them.

Devil's Lake Reservation had been assigned to the Church in 1870, and it soon became one of the best as well as the least troublesome of the agencies entrusted to Catholic care. When William Henry Forbes was appointed agent in 1871 no school was in operation nor was there even a church on the reserve. Forbes was ideally fitted for his position by his genuine interest in the red men. Moreover, his Scots father had been an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, an organization whose fur-trading business was directly helped by good relations with the Indians. Having been born in Canada, Forbes was familiar with the Grey Nuns of Montreal, and he recommended them to Bishop Thomas L. Grace of St. Paul as teachers for the Indian children. In 1872 Sister Rose Clapin and a companion went to Dakota to investigate personally the place which they had been invited to take over by Bishop Grace. The Northern Pacific brought the sisters to the closest railroad station, Jamestown. But since no one met them there, they had no means of traveling the eighty miles northward to Devil's Lake, and for that reason they returned to Montreal. For the year the sole spiritual attention for the Sioux at this reserve was from the itinerant missionary, Father J. B. M. Genin. After the initial disappointment about securing teachers, in 1873 Forbes notified Grace that $5,000 had been appropriated by the Indian department for the construction of a manual labor school; he still wanted the sisters to teach in it.[2] With the approval of the Bishop of St. Paul Forbes went to Montreal where he met Father Brouillet, like himself of Canadian birth. Between the two the Grey Nuns were persuaded to accept the teaching assignment in Dakota. Brouillet reported

[2] Sister M. Angela Schier, S.S.N.D., "The History of Indian Missions in North Dakota, 1874-1938," unpublished master's thesis, The Catholic University of America (1938), pp. 26-28, 30. Cf. also *B.I.C., 1873,* pp. 37-38. For meaning of symbols, cf. "Abbreviations Used in Footnotes."

that the Bishop of Montreal had agreed to supply a priest to accompany the sisters on the trip and then to act as chaplain on the reservation.

Brouillet had said that the traveling expenses of the party would have to be paid by Forbes and the Bishop of St. Paul, for the Catholic bureau was in no position to assume additional obligations at that time. However, future support was guaranteed through a contract which General Ewing concluded with the federal government, whereby the sisters were to receive $5,000 a year for teaching and caring for the Indian children.[3] In September, 1874, four sisters accompanied by a chaplain started for Dakota. They stopped long enough in St. Paul to draw up a legal contract for the teaching, which Forbes signed for the United States government and forty-six year old Sister Rose Clapin for the Grey Nuns. On November 2, 1874, the group arrived at Fort Totten in northern Dakota; soon thereafter a school was under way at a site about seven miles east of the military establishment. The chaplain, Father Louis Bonin, conferred baptism for the first time on November 4, and St. Michael's Mission was conducted by him on the reservation for almost four years. On his own initiative Bonin conducted classes for the adult Sioux.

Forbes was quite concerned about his renomination as agent for Devil's Lake at the end of 1874. Notwithstanding his own happy relations with the man, Ewing showed commendable caution in requiring recommendations from those who were nearer to the reservation. Forbes did not long enjoy the benefit of his confirmation, for he soon took sick and was dead before the summer was over. But during his illness the affairs at Devil's Lake were ably handled by his assistant, James McLaughlin. Like Forbes the latter was of Canadian birth and of Scotch ancestry mixed with Irish. For the preceding dozen years McLaughlin had worked in Dakota Territory. Greatly to his ad-

---

[3] ABCIM, Brouillet to Ewing, Montreal, July 20, 1874; Ewing to John McCloskey, Washington, July 22, 1874, copy. Additional correspondence about this contract was found in ABCIM and EC.

vantage, he had learned the language of the Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux who were inhabitants of Devil's Lake Reserve.[4]

McLaughlin had wanted to be named the successor of Forbes, but this position of agent was given to Major Paul Beckwith. McMaster later charged in the *Freeman's Journal* that this man as a Freemason had tried to get rid of the Grey Nuns. Beckwith's two official reports for 1875, however, warmly commended the work of these teachers, with whom both he and the Indians were highly pleased. From the very first their instruction was considered exceptionally good, as may be seen in the report of the joint meeting of the Board of Indian Commissioners with the representatives of religious societies in Washington on January 13, 1875. At that conference Inspector Edward C. Kemble, who had not been friendly toward the Catholics, declared that he had not seen the like of their work at any agency he had visited.[5] Ewing had adverted to the report about Beckwith being a Mason, but the agent having declared that he had dropped out of the order, the general left the decision to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. In the event Major Beckwith was not judged the proper man for the reservation allotted to the Church the Catholic commissioner submitted McLaughlin's name, and in 1876 the latter became agent at Devil's Lake. The government had already renewed the contract with the Grey Nuns for another year. In addition to their teaching in the school it was stipulated that they were "to prepare food, mend the clothing, and give general attention to the welfare of such school, adults and children."[6]

In striking contrast to the excellent beginning which had been made at Devil's Lake was the situation to the southwest in the same Territory of Dakota. Standing Rock Reservation

---

[4] Charles S. Lusk, "James H. McLaughlin, Friend of the Indians," *Indian Sentinel,* III (October, 1923), 152. Cf. James McLaughlin, *My Friend the Indian* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 29. ABCIM contained at least eight letters relative to the re-nomination of Forbes.

[5] *Freeman's Journal,* September 14, 1878. Cf. *C.I.A., 1875,* pp. 239-240, and *B.I.C., 1875,* pp. 120, 138.

[6] ABCIM, Ewing to E. P. Smith, Washington, November 15, 1875, copy. *Ibid.,* the contract for one year was dated October 1, 1875, and signed by Paul Beckwith and Sister Clapin, in the presence of James McLaughlin.

had also been included in the original assignment to the Catholics under the Peace Policy, but alone of the seven agencies and one sub-agency no progress was reported in the official record for 1873. And strange to say, the Sioux who were quartered there had been the principal concern of Pierre J. DeSmet for the last decade of his life. On his return from each trip to that territory the Jesuit missionary would record the baptisms he had administered. Because it would be advantageous for the Indians he selected the Grand River as the better site for a mission than Fort Berthold, the place suggested by Brigadier General Alfred Sully. Probably because the red men persistently asked for a "black robe" to remain with them, Grand River Reservation (later called Standing Rock) was given to the Church in 1870 under Grant's program. Acting upon the recommendation made by DeSmet after his last trip up the Missouri River, the Jesuit provincial and his consultors voted to establish a mission there. As no bureau existed in that year of 1871 to represent the Church, it may have been on DeSmet's initiative that an agent was nominated and appointed.

In June of 1871 two Jesuits, Francis X. Kuppens and Peter De Meester, arrived at Grand River in place of the ailing DeSmet. The pagan Sioux were preparing for a barbaric Sun Dance and paid them little heed. Though they met and conferred with Sitting Bull, the missionaries accomplished little and by August of the same summer they were back in St. Louis.[7] Superstitions fostered by the medicine men, such as

[7] Chittenden and Richardson, eds., *Life, Letters and Travels of Pierre-Jean DeSmet, S.J., 1801-1873,* IV, 1297. The reservation had been called Grand River no doubt from the river of that name which flows east across this section of Dakota to empty into the Missouri. James McLaughlin, later an agent there, said: "'Standing Rock' takes its name from a remarkable stone formation in the shape of a woman with a child on her back." This life-like formation the Indians had worshipped during their pagan days (*op. cit.,* p. 35). DeSmet had said of the Sioux in this territory: "For years past, during my visits to them, and particularly, in the summer of 1868 at Fort Rice, have I been earnestly requested by them to make an establishment of missionaries in their midst" (AMP, IX-DeSmetiana, DeSmet to Indian Commissioners, St. Louis, January 5, 1870, copy). Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States,* II, 480-486, gave examples of the entries DeSmet made in the St. Mary's Mission (Kansas) Baptismal Register, Vol. II, 1851-1871. Though Garraghan (II, 485) gave mid-June for the arrival of Fathers Kuppens and De Meester at Grand River, on May 3 DeSmet said these Jesuits had left St. Louis for that destination several days previously (AMP, IX, D-15, p. 201, DeSmet to Gallwey, St. Louis, May 3, 1871, copy).

the bloody Sun Dance, were tremendous hinderances to the christianization and civilization of these Indians. Other obstacles which DeSmet had mentioned were a weakness for strong drink, polygamy, and a language which was singularly difficult to learn. Beyond all of these impediments was the inclination to a roving existence. The Jesuit said it was "so strong that they became melancholy and morose if they stay three months in the same place." Others have agreed with his judgment about the wandering life of these Sioux.[8]

DeSmet's nominee, J. C. O'Connor, had given way to Edmond Palmer as agent at Standing Rock before Ewing undertook the office of Catholic commissioner. The latter agent was commended highly for his work after an inspector's official visitation in the summer of 1874, but the following October he requested Ewing to name a replacement upon the expiration of his term.[9] On the recommendation of a creditor of the Catholic bureau the general submitted James W. Callan to the Department of the Interior, but for reasons which were not recorded Callan was rejected. That a vacancy existed became known, and several applicants sought the approval of the Catholic commissioner. Knowing that an active program would have to be inaugurated by the Catholics, Ewing delayed so long before choosing John Burke of Omaha that Secretary Delano threatened to appoint a successor without awaiting word from the attorney. Palmer himself was anxious to get away because of

---

[8] Chittenden-Richardson, eds., *op. cit.,* I, 163. Cf., Sister M. Aquinata Martin, O.P., *The Catholic Church on the Nebraska Frontier, 1854-1885* (Washington, 1937), p. 3. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Ezra A. Hayt declared that marriage among these Sioux was "a mere matter of bargain and sale, in which women are disposed of without their consent, and very much like cattle in the market. There is nowhere any limit to the number of wives an Indian may have"; *C.I.A., 1878,* p. xxviii.

[9] ABCIM, Inspector J. D. Bevier to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Standing Rock, Dakota Territory, August 22, 1874, copy furnished by Smith to Ewing. *Ibid.,* Palmer to Ewing, Standing Rock, October 3, 1874, submitted resignation; C. D. Adams to Ewing, Washington, November 2, 1874, accepted the resignation for the Department of the Interior. Cf. *B.I.C., 1873,* p. 245.

increasing uneasiness among the Sioux stirred up by the invasion of their lands by gold seekers.[10]

Securing an agent by no means solved all problems for the bureau, as this civil official could do no more than favor the christianization of the Indians. For the missionary and teaching work Ewing had selected no one. His movements were handicapped by Dakota Territory being within the confines of the vast Vicariate of Nebraska which was then without a bishop. Bishop James M. O'Gorman had died on Independence Day of 1874, and the interregnum continued for more than two years until James O'Connor was consecrated on August 20, 1876. The commissioner wrote the administrator of the vicariate, William Byrne, that a mission and school must be established without further delay, lest the Church be accused of accepting Standing Rock simply for opportunity of being able to name the agent.[11]

While actually marking time for the appointment of O'Gorman's successor, Ewing opened negotiations with the Indian commissioner in regard to the erection of a school. His proposal sounding attractive to Edward P. Smith, the agent was advised that a boarding school would be established as soon as the building was finished, which Brouillet hoped could be accomplished that fall.[12] But when the Indian Office approved the estimate of the construction cost with the proviso that a day school be undertaken by the Church for a period of five years, the conditioned acceptance was rejected. The reason was that experience had proved only a boarding school was satisfactory for the proper education of red men and especially of rovers

10 ABCIM, Columbus Delano to Ewing, Washington, December 5, 1874; same to same, Washington, February 2, 1875. *Ibid.*, Palmer to Edward P. Smith, Standing Rock, November 2, 1874; same to same, Standing Rock, December 1, 1874, copies furnished by Delano to Ewing. ABCIM has seven letters applying for the position of agent.

11 AAO, Ewing to William Byrne, Washington, May 20, 1875. For the succession in the Vicariate of Nebraska, cf. *Sadliers' Catholic Directory, Almanac, and Ordo, 1875,* p. 365; AAO, printed memorial for Bishop O'Connor.

12 ABCIM, Ewing to Edward P. Smith, Washington, July 1, 1875; Brouillet to Burke, Washington, July 16, 1875, copies.

like the Sioux. Though no arrangements had been made with anyone to undertake the teaching, in November Ewing renewed his offer of providing four instructors. There was no danger of immediate acceptance because the school house had not been built.[13] The Indians were receiving some, if very meager, spiritual attention from the pastor at St. Helena in the neighboring State of Nebraska. That priest, John Daxacher, advised Brouillet against sending priests or sisters to Standing Rock. He said the administrator of the vicariate, Byrne, was loath to receive anyone while the territory lacked a bishop. Nevertheless, the treasurer of the Catholic bureau told Byrne that his organization would pay the expenses of any priest who was sent to Standing Rock for the time being, if no other provision was made. The Catholic agent tried to assist by writing to Rupert Seidenbusch, Vicar Apostolic of Northern Minnesota, under the mistaken impression that the reservation was under the latter's jurisdiction. This Benedictine bishop said that he was trying to get some Oblate Fathers for Minnesota, and if he succeeded one might be able to go to the agency occasionally. In the meantime, however, he had no priests at all to send outside his vicariate, and even less anyone who could speak the Dakota language.[14]

The twin delays in regard to an agent and a bishop had not prevented the officials of the bureau from making preliminary negotiations for teachers at the Standing Rock Reservation. Brouillet advised Byrne at Omaha early in May that an inquiry of his to the Benedictine monastery at St. Meinrad, Indiana, had brought a favorable response from the abbot. This Martin Marty, O.S.B., had agreed to take charge of the Indians if the place impressed him as favorable for a monastery. To deter-

---

13 *Ibid.*, Burke to Brouillet, Standing Rock, August 10, 1875, advised an estimate of $3,800 had been sent to the Indian commissioner for the cost of building the school; Edward P. Smith to Ewing, Washington, July 19, 1875; Ewing (written by Brouillet) to Smith, Washington, July 23, 1875, copy; Ewing to Smith, Washington, November 11, 1875, copy.

14 *Ibid.*, John Daxacher to Brouillet, St. Helena, Nebraska, January 3, 1876. AAO, Brouillet to Byrne, Washington, February 12, 1876; Seidenbusch to Burke, St. Cloud, January 23, 1876.

mine the suitability Marty intended visiting Standing Rock. In order that the situation might be clear, Brouillet had told him that final approval of the monastery would rest with the coming of a vicar apostolic. In the meantime he suggested that Byrne grant permission for one or two of the Benedictines to attend the reservation temporarily. The administrator went as far as his authority would permit, telling the treasurer of the bureau that he was happy to have these priests take care of the spiritual wants of the Indians. But he cautioned that no investment be made in buildings or permanent fixtures as long as permanency could not be guaranteed by him.[15]

As the warmth of the May weather was bringing many flowers into bloom so, too, did another of the missionary seeds which the bureau officers had been planting blossom forth at the same time as Abbot Martin's offer. It has been mentioned that two Jesuits had left the Sioux in discouragement during the summer of 1871. At this time Mrs. Sherman reported that a Jesuit in St. Louis was anxious to go to the Dakota reservation, and he felt that another member of the society would accompany him. With her usual foresight and energy Charles Ewing's sister had obtained permission from Patrick J. Ryan, Coadjutor to Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis, and she was prepared to advance the cause at once in case, as she expressed it, "the Benedictine movement hangs fire." With the temporary entry leave on hand from Byrne, no time was lost at the bureau. Mrs. Sherman was asked to send the names of the Jesuits who were ready for the Indian work, that approval of their superior might be secured in the event the Benedictines decided adversely. At the same time Abbot Martin was notified that the way was open for him, and his prompt decision was requested.[16] The Benedictine superior did not hesitate but

[15] AAO, Brouillet to [William] Byrne, Washington, May 11, 1876. Abbot Martin had written Brouillet on May 3. ABCIM, Byrne to Brouillet, Omaha, May 20, 1876.

[16] ABCIM, Ellen E. Sherman to [Brouillet], St. Louis, May 18, [18]76; Charles S. Lusk to Mrs. Sherman, Washington, May 27, 1876, copy; Lusk to Martin Marty, Washington, May 27, 1876, copy. Lusk wrote at the request of Brouillet, who was ill at the time.

promptly declared that he was going to Standing Rock, not for inspection purposes only but to commence work immediately. Brouillet gave him the practical advice of taking with him equipment for offering Mass, but assured him that arrangements for living accommodations had been made with the agent. The bureau would bear the traveling expenses both ways, but with a thought for the limited funds available, Brouillet told Marty that his office could guarantee no additional financial aid. However, he promised to obtain the management of a manual labor school from the Department of the Interior, if the abbot so desired.[17]

Before Abbot Martin could begin his journey, probably the most widely known triumph of the American Indians over a military force was won by the Sioux under Sitting Bull on the banks of the Little Big Horn River. The extermination of the entire force under General George A. Custer inflamed the passions of all the braves, and Marty came to Fort Yates just as Chief Kill-Eagle was ready to attack the garrison. His own courage and the memory of DeSmet among the Indians saved the day. It is said that the abbot galloped out to the invaders and induced them to lay down their arms, which the soldiers then collected in wagon loads. Thus began the evangelization of the pagan red men by this Benedictine, a labor which was to win for him the deserved title of "Apostle of the Sioux Indians."[18] Like the Belgian DeSmet Marty too was from a small European country, Switzerland. Born there in 1834, he had entered the Benedictine abbey at Einsiedeln. Three years after his ordination as a priest he had immigrated to Indiana in 1860. He was chosen Abbot of St. Meinrad's Abbey in that state in 1871, a position he retained after commencing his Indian labors in Dakota.

A week was needed for Abbot Martin to recover from his journey of twenty days and to make his first survey of the

[17] *Ibid.*, Brouillet to Marty, Washington, June 10, 1876, copy. The abbot had sent his acceptance on May 31.

[18] Schier, *op. cit.*, p. 49. The monument in front of the Marty Memorial Chapel, Yankton, South Dakota, is engraved with the inscription quoted;

work he had undertaken. He had been well received not only by the white officials but by the Indians, the Catholic red men welcoming him as the long awaited successor to DeSmet. But he found three principal obstacles which might interfere or even defeat his attempt. Some of the Indians who had gone on the war path were disposed to return, but if these hostiles, as they were called, were greeted with forcible arrest a new uprising might break out. Then too, bad relations already existed between the agent and the military commander. Thirdly, within seven days after his first sight of the reservation Marty had abandoned his hope of establishing a monastery there. The barren soil was suitable only for grazing, and in this judgment he was in agreement with the previously expressed opinion of DeSmet. As the commandant, Captain John S. Poland, thought the Indians might be removed to new territory, rather than doing any farming Martin said he was going to spend his time learning the Sioux language and becoming better acquainted with the different bands of red men.[19] Ewing, however, did not take this information as conclusive, for he advised the Commissioner of Indian Affairs shortly thereafter that teachers would be furnished for any numbers of youths at the Standing Rock Agency.[20]

The first hindrance to the civilization of the Sioux through the truths of Christianity was the animosity which Marty had observed between the agent and the commander of the military. Each represented different, and to some extent, contending de-

---

Ignatius Forster, O.S.B., "Bishop Martin Marty, O.S.B., Apostle of the Sioux," *Indian Sentinel,* II (January, 1920), 10. 8,000 to 10,000 warriors were following Sitting Bull at this time; ABCIM, Benjamin Smith to Ewing, Standing Rock, August 3, 1876.

19 ABCIM, Martin [Marty, O.S.B.] to [Brouillet], Standing Rock, August 7, 1876. The agency physician had already notified Ewing of the abbot's arrival, saying: "We all like him very much & think he will be able to do much good"; *ibid.,* Dr. Benjamin Smith to Ewing, Standing Rock, August 3, 1876. Until he was made bishop Marty signed his letters A. Martin or Abbot Martin; thereafter (February 1, 1880) his usual signature was M. Marty or fr. [*frater*] Marty. Marty will be used in citations as a uniform designation of him. For Marty's life (1834-1896) cf. *Dictionary of American Biography,* XII, 352; and Peter Behrmann, O.S.B., "The Story of St. Meinrad's Abbey," *Grail* (St. Meinrad, Indiana), X (March, 1929), 487-516.

20 *Ibid.,* Ewing to J. Q. Smith, Washington, August 17, 1876, copy.

partments of the federal government. Major Burke had been a nominee of Ewing, and he appeared to have been zealous for the Church's interests. But the reports which reached Washington about his administration were so bad that his removal was being considered within five months after he had assumed control of Standing Rock.[21] As the charges against him were never proved definitely, the most which may be said is that drunkenness and in some respects poor management were alleged against him. The twin disadvantages of an isolated existence and a poor salary of $1,500 annually gave truth to the assertion of Commissioner J. Q. Smith in 1876 that the great want of the Indian service was thoroughly competent agents. Burke had been in constant contention with Captain Poland after the latter's assignment to the military post, and the bickering reached a climax at the very time that Abbot Martin had arrived at the Dakota reservation. Only the day before Poland had notified the Catholic bureau that he was taking absolute control. He was a bit premature in his assumption of jurisdiction, for two days later General Sheridan wired his superior in Washington that he wanted both Poland and Burke removed and Lieutenant Colonel William P. Carlin placed in charge. A month later Burke was suspended and Captain Robert E. Johnston was commissioned to operate the agency, the War Department believing that everything should be under the military until the trouble with the belligerent Sioux had subsided.[22]

---

21 EC, Charles Collins to Ewing, Washington, October 9, 1875. This Associated Press correspondent strongly defended Burke, and concluded his lengthy letter by stating that a petition for Burke's retention already bore "over ten thousand first class signatures to it, and his friends propose to make it an even one hundred thousand." Before Palmer had submitted a definitive resignation from his position as agent, Brouillet had advised the general in these words: "Between you and me Mr. Burke is not the man suitable for Grand River. But he seems determined to press his claim. . . with the President directly and Senator Hitchcock would back him then"; *ibid.*, Brouillet to Ewing, Omaha, September 27, 1874. The senator mentioned was Phineas Warrener Hitchcock of Nebraska.

22 ABCIM, Poland to Ewing, Standing Rock, July 30, 1876; Phil H. Sheridan to General William T. Sherman, Chicago, August 1, 1876, copy furnished to Ewing; James D. Cameron, Secretary of War, to the Secretary of the Interior, Washington, September 4, 1876, copy furnished to Ewing. EC, S. A. Galpin, Acting Indian Commissioner, to Burke, c/o Ewing, Washington, October 23, 1876, definitely suspended the agent.

Some months passed before the issue was settled between the two cabinet offices of War and Interior, but Ewing, realizing that Burke could not survive the fracas, nominated Edmund Mallet as his successor. From his enviable record among the Indians of the Northwest, this man would have been a good choice. But Senator Lewis V. Bogy told Ewing that his senatorial colleagues from Nebraska had vetoed the nomination because of their friendship for Burke, who was from that state.[23] Meanwhile William T. Hughes of Chicago had been doing his best to gather recommendations, and mainly on the strength of enthusiastic endorsements by Illinois Jesuits, the Catholic commissioner nominated Hughes and Zachariah Chandler approved for the Department of the Interior. In the interim Colonel Carlin had arrested Burke on a report of his having had a secret interview with a rebellious Sioux, an action which Ewing strongly protested, even though Burke had been relieved already, because it was based on mere suspicion.[24]

Because of the close association between agent and missionary the person of the civil official was important in the field as well to the Catholic Indian bureau. The choice of Hughes did not prove happy in several respects, but even before he took charge Abbot Martin might have been expelled from the reservation had General Ewing not explained and defended his position. The acting agent during military control was Captain

---

23 ABCIM, Ewing to Secretary of the Interior, Washington, August 7, 1876, copy, nominated Mallet. AAO, Marty to [James O'Connor], Standing Rock, September 2, 1876, said that Mallot (*sic*) was appointed agent on August 10. ABCIM, Bogy to Ewing, St. Louis, September 5, 1876, told of the Senate's refusal to confirm Mallet over the protests of the Nebraska members. A MS containing the memoirs of Francis Norbert Blanchet's first years as an Indian missionary in the Northwest and written by Mallet is in the archives of L'Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique, Woonsocket, Rhode Island.

24 EC, W[illiam] T. Hughes to Ewing, Chicago, September 18, 1876, declared that "The Jesuit Fathers here feel a great interest in my getting the appointment of Agt. at Standing Rock, and would be delighted to hear that I had got the position." Hughes enclosed two letters of endorsement from priests of that society. He admitted his failure to obtain similar letters from Bishop Thomas P. Foley, Administrator of Chicago, and from General Sheridan. ABCIM, Ewing to Chandler, Washington, September 24, 1876, copy, nominated Hughes.

Johnston, who was not long in filing a complaint against the presence of Marty and two aids. Johnston said that Burke had been giving board and lodging to Marty, and when the former agent left the Benedictine asked him for rations, saying he had no means of his own. When two more members of the religious order arrived, Johnston reported the matter to the Indian commissioner, saying that the three were of no service to the agency while they were learning the Dakota tongue. When the captain's outburst was called to Ewing's attention the attorney filed a reply which had a solid legal foundation. The bureau had paid Marty's traveling expenses, Burke's charity in feeding him was not subject to regulation, and the government building he was using was called for by the treaty between the Indians and the United States.[25] While the commissioner passed over the rations which the abbot received since Burke's departure, apparently they were not of great consequence. Breakfast had consisted of "hardtack with hot water poured over it, seasoned with a little salt and pepper and a lump of butter," and the roof of the building was so leaky that with the event of showers the brother held an umbrella over the priest during the celebration of Mass.[26] Ewing had pointed out that the Indian treaty stipulated that classes for children were to be conducted in English. However, the Indian Office no doubt was pleased that the prospective teachers were learning the language of the aborigines, since the lack of that knowledge was frequently termed lamentable in the official reports.

If the identity of the agent at Standing Rock was to be a source of trouble to Abbot Martin for some time, his work was to be aided immeasurably by his new ecclesiastical superior, James O'Connor. His domain included not only all of Dakota Territory west of the Missouri River, but also the entire State of Nebraska, the Territory of Wyoming and part of Montana.

---

25 RBIA, L.R., Standing Rock, J 953, R. E. Johnston to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Standing Rock, October 3, 1876. ABCIM, Ewing to J. Q. Smith, Washington, November 2, 1876, copy.

26 Giles Laugel, O.S.B., "Brother Giles' Story," *Grail*, XVII (May, 1935), 19.

This new bishop was consecrated on August 20, 1876, after Marty had gone to the Dakota reservation, and before he was officially installed at Omaha the Benedictine had told him of his problem and his plans.[27] If Marty was in need, as his request for rations from the military commander indicated, he was to find O'Connor an ever generous benefactor. Like Marty, Erin-born O'Connor also was an immigrant to the United States. Apparently he had made many friends during his years as seminary rector and pastor, and their help he shared open-heartedly with all the missionaries in his vicariate.[28] In addition to and probably more valuable than his largess, the bishop readily gave advice and encouragement to the missionary at Standing Rock, answering with faithful alacrity the letters which Marty addressed to him in a steady flow through the years.

Father Brouillet had advised the abbot against taking anyone with him on his initial trip because he anticipated difficulty about the living accommodations. Having decided to stay himself and with his permanency assured by O'Connor, Marty brought a Benedictine priest and brother from the abbey in Indiana.[29] The newly arrived priest, Chrysostom Foffa, made a

---

27 AAO, Marty to [O'Connor], Standing Rock, September 2, 1876. The letter bore a notation in O'Connor's handwriting, "Answered September 27/76." The bishop marked almost all of his letters with the date of his reply, but very few copies of his actual letters were found in the archives of the Archdiocese of Omaha. *Ibid.*, O'Connor to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, Omaha, report of 1876, n.d., original draft, advised that his installation at Omaha had taken place on September 24, 1876.

28 AAO contains numerous requests or thanks for donations from Marty to O'Connor. AAO also has several letters of thanks to O'Connor from Lawrence B. Palladino, Jesuit missionary in Montana. At St. Ignatius Mission Palladino introduced irrigation for the Indians. His book, *Indian and White in the Northwest* (Baltimore, 1894) recounted his missionary activities. For a sketch of his life (1837-1927), cf. *Indian Sentinel,* VII (Fall, 1927), 174-175.

29 AAO, Marty to [O'Connor], Standing Rock, October 7, 1876, reported that Father Chrysostom and Brother Aegidius had arrived on September 30, and all hoped to know the Indian language by the following spring. The name of Brother Aegidius (Giles in English) had been Tony Laugel; Duratschek, *Crusading Along Sioux Trails,* p. 75, n. 49. After fifteen months at Standing Rock Foffa turned to parish work because of his lack of agreement with Marty; AAO, Foffa to James O'Connor, Bismarck, D. T., October 1, 1878. Brouillet discovered that Foffa was the source of information hostile to the Catholic bureau; ABCIM, Brouillet to Ewing, Standing Rock, September 10, 1878.

700-mile tour of the area that winter, visiting Catholics—soldiers, settlers, and Indians—wherever they might be found. In addition, he and Brother Aegidius built a log school house. Marty had abandoned his original plan of a monastery for members of his religious order, but he conceived the thought of monasteries of both sexes for the Sioux. Though O'Connor wrote favorably of the proposal to Rome, the nomadic red men were not to be so easily changed to such a strictly sedentary or agrarian life. Because of their roving habits the Indians were difficult to estimate, much less to number, and the figures ranged from 2,000 to 7,000 at this reservation, and from 25,000 to 50,000 for the Sioux nation in the Dakota Territory.

In November Brouillet advised that Agent Hughes had had a final conference with him before starting for Standing Rock. Marty was assured that once the school was in operation, the government would pay $750 annually for each teacher, and the Indians' treaty called for an instructor for every thirty pupils. The bureau official had recommended to Hughes that some temporary buildings be erected at once so that the teaching could get under way. Marty, however, felt that the Sioux would not appreciate either secular or religious instruction if it were given without any effort on their part; as he said, "the main thing is to make the Indians work." Hence the abbot wanted the redskins to participate in the actual building of the school. He foresaw dissension between Hughes and the military because the latter wanted to retain control. He was not optimistic about the co-operation from the government officials in any case, since he feared, as he put it, "the devil will always have things pretty much his own way." Notwithstanding, his opinion was that the federal expenditures, which in the past had so often gone for the moral and material ruin of the red men as wards, could be used for the improvement of the same race. Marty was determined to bring that about, if within his power. A few months' experience had made him realize that

rapid progress with his spiritual children could not be expected, but the challenge seemed, if anything, to whet his interest.[30]

The officers of the bureau realized the important acquisition which had been gained in having the Benedictines under Abbot Martin as teachers at Standing Rock. Their appreciation was expressed in the publicity which was accorded the work of this religious order in the official organ of the bureau, the *Annals of the Catholic Indian Missions of America.* In the introductory article for the very first issue of the magazine Ewing said that the bureau's personnel was conscious that the truths of Christianity were a blessing which had been given to them by others, and they, in turn, regarded it as a duty to teach their religion to their red brethern. In fulfilling this, the stated purpose of the *Annals,* the trials and successes of the missionaries in Dakota were mentioned in every issue, and often were the featured account. In the first edition of this publication of the bureau there was reproduced in full the initial letter from Standing Rock which was sent to Brouillet by Marty.[31]

Differing reactions by two Benedictine abbots to this one edition of the *Annals* may be found in Marty and in Dom Isidore Robot. In the preceding chapter attention was called to the latter having become highly critical of the Catholic bureau in his letters to James A. McMaster. A letter from Robot actually had been given a preferential place in the magazine, if a distinction which was probably unintended may be made now. Robot made no acknowledgment to the publishers of the article. But he did express to McMaster his dissatisfaction at no notice having been taken of the *Freeman's Journal* or of the Association of St. Michael, which was being promoted by that newspaper. In contrast, Marty promptly thanked Brouillet for the *Annals* he had received, and asked that other copies be sent to his own Abbey of St. Meinrad and to the monastery at Einsiedeln, Switzerland, from which the Indiana abbey had sprung.

30 ABCIM, Brouillet to Marty, Washington, November 5, 1876, copy; Marty to Brouillet, Standing Rock, November 21, 1876.

31 EC, original draft of the statement, which was published in the *Annals,* I (January, 1877), 2-5. Cf. n. 19 *supra* for Marty's letter.

Moreover, Abbot Martin intended trying to sell fifty copies among the soldiers at the military post, Fort Yates, in the hope that thereby some bands might be formed for affiliation with the Catholic Indian Missionary Association.[32]

Marty had arrived at Standing Rock about five weeks after the resounding victory of Sitting Bull over the military force under General Custer. The triumphant hostile Indians had not followed up their achievement, scattering as superior forces were assembled against them. While the movements of both hound and hare were halted by the severe Dakotan winter the Benedictine superior made an electrifying proposal which demonstrated his vital concern for all the Indians. To Brouillet he revealed that he wanted to go north to the camp of Sitting Bull in order to induce the chief and his rebellious followers to return to the reservation. He was anxious to make the attempt before more moderate weather permitted the army to embark upon a spring campaign which had as its object the total extermination of hostiles (as they were called) among the Sioux. The abbot also told Mrs. Sherman of his intention, probably in the hope that she might enlist the co-operation of her husband who was in command of all the military forces in that entire area.[33]

After an exchange of letters for the purpose of securing fuller information Ewing made an official offer of Marty's mediation for peace to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The abbot, he explained, had dedicated his life to bringing these Indians into the Church. In this emergency he thought that his place was to act as a messenger of mercy from the government to the hostiles, that he might convince them before blood was shed of the hopelessness of continued resistance.

---

32 AUND, Robot to McMaster, Atoka, Indian Territory, December 11, 1876. ABCIM, Marty to [Brouillet], Standing Rock, January 22, 1877. This is the sole reference to selling the *Annals* which the writer encountered.

33 ABCIM, Marty to [Brouillet], Standing Rock, January 23, 1877. General Sherman was called "Walk a heap" by the Indians, according to his granddaughter; Eleanor Sherman Fitch to the writer, New York, December 15, 1951.

Eloquently did Ewing speak of Marty as the successor of DeSmet. Like the Jesuit the abbot would have no selfish purpose in visiting the Indians, an intent which they would readily recognize.[34] Probably because the incident was still vividly remembered at the time, the Catholic commissioner did not bring out in his letter that only nine years before DeSmet had achieved his greatest success as a peacemaker by going alone to the war camp of 5,000 Sioux surrounding this same Sitting Bull. Entirely by his efforts DeSmet induced them to make a peace treaty.

Almost a month elapsed before Ewing received an answer to the offer of Marty's acting as an ambassador of peace. In addition to the seriousness of the startling proposal, the reply may have been delayed by the change in presidential administrations if not in the party in power. Though the Republican majority in the electoral commission had forecast the decision of that extraordinary body, it still was March 2 before Rutherford B. Hayes was officially declared to be the successor of Grant. The liberal German, Carl Schurz, was named Secretary of the Interior by the nineteenth President of the United States, but John Q. Smith was yet Commissioner of Indian Affairs when he sent a directive to the agent at Standing Rock. The Secretary of War had authorized Abbot Martin going to the hostile Sioux, but Smith added a qualification in these words, "at his own risk, with the understanding that he goes in no manner as an emissary of the Government of the United States," nor would military operations be curtailed in the meantime. Agent Hughes was permitted to detail a few Indians to accompany the Benedictine and to issue rations for the party, but no other expense would be met from federal funds.[35]

Ewing promptly inquired if the hostiles would be allowed to return if they surrendered their weapons and ponies, and upon obtaining this assurance, he sent the official authorization for the expedition to Marty, wishing him God-speed. Two months

[34] *Ibid.*, Ewing to John Q. Smith, Washington, February 16, 1877, copy.

[35] *Ibid.*, Smith to William T. Hughes, Washington, March 14, 1877, copy which was sent to Ewing.

had passed since the abbot had suggested the mission, and with the approach of milder spring weather he was anxious to begin the education of the Indians on the reservation. But to his proposition that Father Genin go in his stead Brouillet advised that the War Department's authorization was for him personally and it could not be transferred. Meanwhile the first of a long series of reports that the hostiles were breaking up and probably would soon surrender appeared in a New York newspaper—the wish probably being father of the hope.[36]

Marty received the official commission while on a pastoral trip to the Indian camps along the west side of the Missouri River, and he intended starting on his peace mission as soon as arrangements for it were completed by Major Hughes. As he wrote from the very room in which Custer had planned his disastrous campaign of the year before, he begged that the members of the Catholic Indian Missionary Associations might pray that he would be more successful. A Catholic publication praised the bureau for conducting the negotiations with the Departments of War and Interior in regard to the expedition and already hailed Marty as being second only to DeSmet.[37]

Abbot Martin found that the proposed detail of Indians was not to be had at Standing Rock, at least willingly. The Sioux there gave him advice, but they feared to approach Sitting Bull themselves, inasmuch as they had refused to join this chief in the hostilities. Marty did not press the red men on the reservation to embark on the dangerous venture but determined to set out alone for the last United States military post to the northwest, Fort Buford. The more dramatic undertaking had not caused the Benedictine superior to neglect the business of establishing schools at Standing Rock. Father Chrysostom was to carry on in his absence, and Marty arranged for four more Benedictines to come from Indiana during the following

[36] *Ibid.*, Marty to [Brouillet], Standing Rock, March 23, 1877; Brouillet to Marty, Washington, March 30, 1877, copy. New York *Times*, March 19, 1877.

[37] ABCIM, Marty to [Brouillet, en route to Standing Rock, April 10, 1877]. *Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore), March 24, 1877, in an editorial, "A Move in the Right Direction."

month of May. These men, two priests and two brothers, were for missionary work and for instructing the boys. To have teachers for the Indian girls Marty hoped to secure some sisters, also Benedictines from Indiana.[38] There having been no payments from the government during these preliminary operations, the abbot asked Brouillet to send $800 to cover the traveling expenses of the eight persons to the priest he had left in charge of St. Meinrad's. As far as possible having thus provided for the future, Marty was ready to start for the camp of erstwhile rampaging Sioux.[39]

Though Sitting Bull had sworn to kill the first white man he saw, the abbot not only talked with him but was a guest in his camp for eight days. When Marty had reached Fort Peck in far-distant Montana he found that the chief and his followers had fled across the Canadian line, thus evading the military pursuit.[40] But the Benedictine refused to halt; he picked up eight Indians and two white interpreters and went into British territory. When the missionary and his party drew near to the Sioux camp after eight days of travel through herds of buffalo, Sitting Bull himself came out to meet him. The chief spoke of his oath to kill the first American he encountered but explained that it did not apply to Marty because, he said: "You are a priest and welcome. The priest harms no man." The abbot found that the rebellious Sioux would not return because they did not trust the promises of the United States officials. While the British were not anxious to harbor a potential troublemaker, they would not force Sitting Bull to leave as long as he was peaceful.[41] But none of this was known in the Washington office for some time, since there was little opportunity for

38 Albert Kleber, O.S.B., *Ferdinand, Indiana, 1840-1940* (St. Meinrad, 1940), p. 124 ff. The four sisters from the Convent of the Immaculate Conception, Ferdinand, who volunteered for the school at Standing Rock, probably were the first sisters in what is now South Dakota. They arrived in May, 1878.

39 ABCIM, Marty to [Brouillet], Standing Rock, April 25, 1877.

40 General John Gibbon, "Hunting Sitting Bull," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, II (October, 1877), 665-694, told of the unsuccessful effort to catch the Sioux.

41 *Annals*, I (July, 1877), 54; II (January, 1878), 7-8.

Marty to make any report until he returned to Standing Rock in mid-June, after an absence of seven full weeks.

In sending his hearty congratulations on the historic trip Brouillet requested a detailed report for submission to the Department of the Interior. The first of his attempts to bring the Sioux rebel back peaceably had cost Marty physical energy which brought on an inevitable reaction. He told Brouillet his health did not permit him then writing anything, and he was content to let the matter stand as related in the press.[42] A month later, in thanking the bureau treasurer for a remittance which had been sent to St. Meinrad's Abbey, the abbot promised to write a detailed account of his experiences after he had returned to Indiana. The story was published in the next issue of the *Annals,* together with the remarks of the Benedictine on the character and habits of the Sioux which his observing eyes had noticed during his eight days in an Indian tent.[43]

Upon his return Marty had been unwilling to exploit his talking with the renowned Sioux chief, but he had been ready enough to discuss factors affecting the Indians and his own missionaries. From his inspection of the country through which he had traveled he believed Indians there would be far better off following the chase and thus providing for themselves than being imperfectly and expensively fed in idleness on some reservation. He did not fall into the error of calling the territory "the great American desert," but he had formed a conclusion in these words: "No white man can make a living in all the country between Fort Buford and Benton on the north side of the Missouri River." Nor did his historic mission distract him from practical concerns within his own orbit. Paying an interpreter, buying some presents for the hostile Sioux in Canada, and his fare on the steamer up and down the Missouri River had cost him $150. He noted that in his absence Father Jerome Hunt and a brother had been added to the

---

42 ABCIM, Marty to [Brouillet], Bismarck, Dakota Territory, June 29, 1877; Brouillet to Marty, Washington, July 2, 1877, copy.

43 *Ibid.,* Marty to [Brouillet], Standing Rock, July 18, 1877. Cf. *Annals,* II (January, 1878), 7-10.

staff at Standing Rock. Unknown to the abbot was the fact that the new Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Dakota had praised him and the work which was being done under his supervision at Standing Rock.[44] After Marty had gone back to his abbey in Indiana a United States peace commission had far less success than he with Sitting Bull, for the Sioux chief refused to see any of its members.[45]

While the abbot had been making the preparations for his trip a delegation from the Society of Friends, headed by Samuel M. Janney, had made a formal call on the new President. Hayes assured them that no change was contemplated in the conduct of the Peace Policy which had been inherited from his predecessor, Ulysses Grant. Though the Quakers had been the original participants in the federal Indian plan, this was not the answer they had wanted about the administration of the program. The delegation made it evident that the plan was not being conducted as had been anticipated. A few days later a spokesman for the Society of Friends complained about the Senate having refused to confirm the nominations which had been made for Indian agents. The New York *Times* readily granted that so long as the senators stood together only those appointees who were acceptable politically would be given a favorable vote. However, in the estimation of this editorial the Peace Policy had not been a failure, even though the experiment had been forced on Grant by the Senate's refusal to permit army officers to be simultaneously in charge of reservations. It was suggested that Hayes' administration would be wise to deny all aid to Indians who were not living on the government reserves. While all direct criticism of the Peace

---

44 EC, J[ohn] H. Hammond to Ewing, Yankton, Dakota Territory, June 20 and August 5, 1877. Cf. William Hughes, "Reverend Jerome Hunt, O.S.B., Indian Missionary," *Indian Sentinel,* IV (January, 1924), 34. Hughes, director of the bureau at that time, said: "The history of Father Jerome as an Indian missionary is the history of the evangelization of the Sioux." This Benedictine labored for the Indians from that June of 1877 until his death in 1923.

45 New York *Times,* September 25, 1877.

Policy was lacking, the article was defensive rather than enthusiastic in appraising its accomplishmnets.[46]

Standing Rock, as part of that program, had been staffed with teachers for the boys and sisters were expected for the girls. It would be misleading, however, to think that all its educational plans were thereby fulfilled. A year before, in the summer of 1876, Brouillet had drawn up a bill for presentation in Congress. It provided for the establishment and conduct of an industrial school for the red men at Standing Rock, to be cared for by those in charge of the educational progam. The measure was not then adopted, and it was in no sense an original suggestion at the time.[47] The Grey Nuns had already been operating a type of industrial school at Devil's Lake under the contract between the government and Brouillet. For a time that institution became a day school, but not only did that complicate the distribution of food to those attending, but the training of the children suffered when they did not remain overnight during the period of their attendance. When Brouillet inspected the reservation in the fall of 1877 he was delighted with the remarkable improvement in both the spirit and the productivity of the Sioux quartered there. A great deal of the progress was ascribed to the fact that nearly all of the Indians had become farmers. Out of a total of 265 families almost 250 were virtually self-supporting, due to the instruction of the younger Indians by the sisters and the benevolent supervision of Agent McLaughlin.[48]

Before he went back to Indiana after his trip up the Missouri River and into Canada Marty had surveyed Standing Rock for a suitable site for a manual labor school, which he did not want to be too close to the agency buildings. While he was gone the abbot hoped to be able to send more priests and obtain the sisters for the operation of the prospective program. Shortly thereafter the abbot submitted his own idea of separate training schools for boys and girls. The plan was complete down

46 *Ibid.*, March 29 and April 2, 1877.

47 ABCIM, original draft in the handwriting of Brouillet.

48 *Annals*, II (January, 1878), 4-6.

to the specification of the cooking utensils that would be needed for boarding the students.[49] Brouillet had already started for the Dakota reservations, and about the same time as Marty's outline arrived Ewing heard a report which must have disconcerted the general and made him think that the school plan would have to be tabled for the time being. He congratulated the abbot on having heard that he had been selected as the next Bishop of Vincennes, but regretted greatly that the Sioux were going to be deprived of his immediate interest in their spiritual development. However, the information proved to be no more than a rumor, for in Rome Francis S. Chatard was consecrated bishop of that Indiana see the following May.[50]

Brouillet, calling on Abbot Martin on his way to Dakota, had been impressed by the latter's insistence on the application to the Indian of the Benedictine motto of *ora et labora* (pray and work). The bureau official had thought that the Department of the Interior would furnish the buildings and equipment plus an annual allotment of $6,000 for Standing Rock.[51] In making the formal proposal to Secretary Schurz, Ewing pointed out that the establishment would be for tribesmen of all ages, with 100 to 200 of each sex taken at a time. Since the thirteen teachers which the government had obligated itself to furnish would have cost $10,400, the total expenditure would still be $4,000 less each year under this plan.[52] As congressional legislation was needed for the program no definitive decision was expected from the Department of the Interior.

Meanwhile Brouillet had found Standing Rock Reservation in good condition, though not as advanced as Devil's Lake.

---

49 ABCIM, unaddressed memorandum written by Marty and dated September 10, 1877.

50 *Ibid.*, Ewing to Marty, Washington, September 13, 1877, copy, said that Marty's appointment was due recognition of the eminent services of the abbot. *Freeman's Journal*, May 18, 1878.

51 AAO, Marty to [O'Connor], St. Meinrad, October 13, 1877, related his conversation with Brouillet. Cf. *Annals*, II (January, 1878), 1, for an account of Brouillet's visit to St. Meinrad's Abbey.

52 ABCIM, Ewing to Schurz, Washington, November 26, 1877, copy, suggested that the Sioux from other reservations be accommodated in these schools.

More Benedictines, both men and women, were expected in time to launch the manual training program. With the practiced eye of a missionary of twenty-five years' experience Brouillet saw that the soil was not well suited for farming, and he heard about the devastation which the grasshoppers wrecked upon what did grow. Those obstacles did not nullify the good to be derived from the model farm, inasmuch as vocations suited for the territory, namely, herding and cattle-raising, were to be taught too. However, just as the uprising of Sitting Bull had been caused by the invasion of the Sioux hunting grounds by gold seekers, so settlers were being drawn to Dakota in these years by the soaring prices of cereals and the depression of the eastern labor market.[53] Thus the necessity of instructing the red man in occupations other than the chase became increasingly paramount if he were to cope with his white neighbors in the common life of the nation.

During Brouillet's visit to St. Meinrad's he had found the abbot so enthused about the work at Standing Rock that he was determined to extend the care of the Benedictines to as many Sioux as possible. Ewing had expressed one possibility in suggesting that tribesmen from other reservations be educated in the industrial school at Standing Rock. Brouillet took another tack in consulting Rupert Seidenbusch and securing the bishop's approval of Marty taking over the boys' school at Devil's Lake. No dissatisfaction was felt with the Grey Nuns, who had pioneered Catholic Indian education in Dakota. It was intended that the sisters should remain too, for in offering the mission to Abbot Martin the bureau officer claimed that Devil's Lake was the best conducted agency in the United States. Father Bonin also had been a fine missionary, but a number of male teachers would be needed to expand the training program to include the larger boys. The treasurer had tried to povide in advance for financing the project, and from

---

[53] Nevins, *The Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1878*, pp. 368-375. Cf. Poole, *Among the Sioux of Dakota*, p. 13, for an account of DeSmet having reported a bountiful crop for Dakota in 1867, but in a postscript having added that the grasshoppers had been the reapers.

the white employees at the agency and the soldiers at Fort Totten promises had been secured of generous contributions. Moreover, in their charity the sisters had agreed to give $400 of the yearly compensation the government was paying them. Having thereby secured the assent of Marty, Brouillet advised Seidenbusch that Bonin was willing to accept an assignment in the Vicariate of Northern Minnesota, once the permission of his own Canadian bishop was received. With the present missionary thereby provided for, Abbot Martin was ready to take charge of the spiritual welfare of the red men on the northeastern Dakota reservation.[54]

Another move for the widening of the ministrations of the Benedictines was to have far reaching consequences, though these were hidden at the time to both the officers of the bureau and the men in the field. Late in September of 1877 a delegation of Sioux had called on the President in regard to the tribes they represented being moved to better land within Dakota Territory. According to Brouillet, these Indians had told Hayes that they wanted priests and Catholic schools. Without having anything on paper they left with the impression that their wishes would be granted. As full of ideas as he was short of funds, the treasurer at once tried to raise money for the new schools and missions by having a mass meeting of the missionary associations which were functioning in Washington.[55] The same day that Brouillet asked the pastors of the parishes in Washington to announce this rally the priest who was to direct the field operations wrote from St. Meinrad's Abbey. Marty reported that the two principal chiefs of the tribes which were to be moved had themselves asked for Catholic

---

54 ABCIM, Brouillet to Marty, Washington, October 31, 1877, copy; Brouillet to Seidenbusch, Washington, December 3, 1877, copy.

55 *Ibid.*, Brouillet to 'Reverend dear sir,' Washington, November 9, 1877. This was a circular letter which was sent to the pastors of Washington. *Freeman's Journal*, October 6, 1877, told of Chief Spotted Tail's request for "black robes."

missionaries and teachers. He intended meeting them when they reached the site of the new reservations.[56]

To Bishop O'Connor the abbot told a little more about his plans and the cause of his optimism. In addition to the request of the Indians for Catholic instruction and care General John H. Hammond of the Dakota superintendency was to have charge of agencies then being established, and he had promised that they would be assigned to the Church. Despite all of these assurances the abbot was not going to take anything for granted. He reiterated his intention of being on hand to greet the chiefs and their people as they came to their new homes. Both Brouillet and he had been looking ahead to staffing these agencies, and Marty was much interested in a prospect of securing some secular priests from an eastern diocese to supplement the men of his own religious order.[57]

Hammond proved that his desire to further the interests of the Church was active by making a suggestion during one of his visits to Washington. His proposition also indicated that the superintendent was not so confident about the agencies being assigned to the Catholics, for he thought it advisable that Marty obtain a petition from the two chiefs, Red Cloud and Spotted Tail, and their followers that they wanted the Benedictines to remain with them. Hammond said the petition should be sent to Washington, but in no case was the Indian camp to be left without a Catholic missionary. Marty should make sure that one of his priests was on the grounds if he had

---

56 EC, Marty to 'My dear General' [Ewing], St. Meinrad, November 9, 1877. Therein the abbot asserted: "The visit I paid you during the first days of August at Yankton is one of the happiest remembrances I took along from Dakota Terr."

57 AAO, Marty to [O'Connor], St. Meinrad, November 9, 1877. The following advertisement for volunteers to serve as missionaries in the United States was being circulated in France:

> We offer you: No Salary; No Recompense; No Holidays; No Pensions. But: Much Hard Work; A Poor Dwelling; Few Consolations; Many Disappointments; Frequent Sickness; A Violent or Lonely Death; An Unknown Grave; Mathias M. Hoffman, *The Church Founders of the Northwest* (Milwaukee, 1937), p. 23. The *Annals*, II (January, 1878), 32, offered to furnish the necessary means for any priest who would volunteer to work among the Sioux.

to leave. The abbot, already in Dakota, was grateful for the suggestion, and left Yankton for the New Spotted Tail Agency in a couple of days.[58] As his plans were in conformity with the frequently expressed desire of these Sioux, Abbot Martin may have been encouraged by Secretary Schurz's declaration that it was to be his policy to keep faith with the Indians. However, a newspaper pointed out that adherence to this intention, while undoubtedly all to the good, would represent a decided reversal of the past record of the government's relations with its redskin wards.[59]

The same day that Marty arrived at the New Spotted Tail Agency Bishop William H. Hare of the Protestant Episcopal Church also made his appearance. The two did not meet on that occasion, and meanwhile Marty received a cordial welcome from the military personnel upon his presenting a recommendation from General Hammond. The abbot found the territory assigned to the Sioux bands under Spotted Tail was much more favorable for settlement than that at Standing Rock. The Indians and half-breeds had welcomed him, anxious as they were that a Catholic education be provided for their children. Marty had gone to see the Episcopalian bishop, and Hare expressed regret that the Benedictine had come to the reservation because he feared animosity among what he called the lower classes of his denomination and of the Catholics. Abbot Martin, however, had felt that there was room for both, and that the decision about preference should be left to the Indians. Foreseeing no direct opposition from the Episcopalians, even if they were cool, Marty did not have the Sioux sign the petition for him to remain, as Hammond had recommended; "the fact," he observed, "that the Indians want us being too generally known." However, he kept a wary eye for Hare, for in writing to O'Connor four days later he mentioned that the bishop had not been about the encampment. Inspector Hammond had repeated his

---

58 ABCIM, [Marty to Brouillet], Yankton, December 6, 1877. Cf. *C.I.A., 1878* (Washington, 1878), pp. 56-160, for "Report of the Sioux Commission" to Schurz, Washington, August 28, 1878, on the removal of the Ogalala and Brulé Sioux.

59 New York *Times,* December 5, 1877.

previous offers of co-operation in these words: "Rest assured that the measure of what I will do, will be what I can do." While he wanted to visit Red Cloud's camp, too, the abbot was following the inspector's advice in not leaving the Spotted Tail Agency until someone took his place.[60]

To secure the money with which to open the industrial-boarding schools which Marty already visualized at the two reservations, his episcopal superior decided to go to New York and other eastern cities in quest of assistance. The outlook was so promising to the Vicar Apostolic of Nebraska that O'Connor declared material means were all that were needed for complete success in the new establishments. He was completely satisfied with Abbot Martin, saying that "he is a man of rare merit."[61] To facilitate movements in the field without the delays consequent upon seeking his authority the bishop appointed Marty his vicar general for all the portion of Dakota Territory inhabited by the Sioux. While these sturdy efforts were being made to care for this Indian nation, those members under the sway of Sitting Bull remained in the British possession to the north. To Brouillet a Canadian archbishop lamented that he lacked any means of sending missionaries to the camp of the wandering band. And a New York newspaper criticized the federal government because in the past the famous chief's re-

---

60 AAO, Marty to [O'Connor], New Spotted Tail Agency, December 14, 23, and 27, 1877.

61 ASVA, O'Connor to [Boniface Wimmer], Omaha, December 30, 1877. ABCIM show the following financial help had been given to the Benedictines: Standing Rock, Dakota, September 1, 1876, 90-day note for $350 was given to John Burke by Marty; October 28, 1876, Burke receipted the note in return for payment made by Brouillet; Lusk to Marty, Washington, October 31, 1876, sent $100 for expenses, with further assistance promised as means permitted; Lusk to St. Meinrad's Abbey, Washington, November 25, 1876, sent $58.15 as refund on Marty's traveling expenses; Brouillet to Marty, Washington, March 7, 1877, sent $100 for expenses; the bureau's funds were low, and so it might be some time before further assistance could be sent, Brouillet added; Brouillet to St. Meinrad's Abbey, Washington, July 2, 1877, sent $400 for traveling expenses of missionaries to Standing Rock; copies. *Annals,* II (January, 1878), 31, begged donations for the missions among the Sioux. As no tabulation was in ABCIM, references to additional assistance to the Benedictines may have escaped the writer's search.

quest had been ignored when he asserted: "My people, the Sioux nation, want a Catholic missionary."[62]

Though the Benedictines and secular priests working with them managed to remain with the tribesmen of Spotted Tail and Red Cloud, increasing difficulties became a portent of the total exclusion which was to follow. Notwithstanding the requests of the Indians for "black gowns," these new agencies were assigned to the Episcopalians. However, when Marty paid his first visit to the encampment of Red Cloud he received a three-fold welcome, one of which he had not expected at all. The principal chief, Red Cloud, expressed his delight at the sight of Abbot Martin in these words: "I have asked Grandfather many a time to send me this kind of men and now he has sent me one." The agent, James Irwin, also was hospitable, but the surprise came in the Episcopalian clergyman being friendly, too. In the presence of the minister Irwin declared he too was an Episcopalian, but notwithstanding he believed the Catholic Church was preferred by the red men and had the best prospect of permanent success with them.[63] But after Marty had departed the priest he had left at Spotted Tail was told there was no room available for him at the agency, and consequently he had to live across the river. At a council held in March Chief Spotted Tail repeated that "black gowns" were the only missionaries he wanted, and when his Indians moved again to a permanent location they did not want the "Red House" to go with them. The agent had modified his stand a little by permitting the Catholic missionary to live on the reservation, but no rations were allowed him.[64] Marty assured

---

62 ABCIM, Alexander [Antoine Taché, O.M.I.] to Brouillet, St. Boniface, December 26, 1877. Cf. *Freeman's Journal,* December 1, 1877.

63 AAO, Marty to [O'Connor], New Spotted Tail Agency, January 14, 1878. "Grandfather" was synonymous with "Great White Father"; i.e., the President. Commissioner E. A. Hayt commended Red Cloud for his earnest co-operation and strong leadership of the Ogalala tribe of the Sioux; *C.I.A., 1878,* p. xxxii. Ogalalla is a variant spelling of the name of this tribe.

64 *Ibid.,* same to same, St. Meinrad, February 11 and March 27, 1878. Marty explained "Red House" in these words: "All the Ep. churches among the Sioux are painted red."

O'Connor that he had cautioned the priest against showing any antagonism to the Episcopalians.

Meanwhile two priests and two brothers were caring for the Sioux at Standing Rock and at the same time helping with the construction of a school house. Father Jerome said no more Benedictines would be sent there, however, until the complaints against Agent Hughes were settled.[65] The relations with this man had grown progressively worse. As had been related, he exerted considerable pressure to obtain the appointment, and had gone to Dakota with the strong recommendation of the bureau officers. After he had been at the reservation for nearly a year Superintendent Hammond had praised him as an excellent business man, though, perhaps, he was indicating an attitude he had noticed in hoping that Hughes did not become disgusted with the difficulties.[66] One reason for Brouillet's trip to Dakota in the fall of 1877 had been to settle Hughes' problems. Later Marty had thought that the agent would have been satisfactory had it not been for the interference of his wife. After the first of the year Jerome's letters intimated that Indian annuity goods were being stolen by the agent. The Benedictines had said nothing against Hughes, however, because they made it a rule not to meddle in anything which was not connected with the school.

Though nothing had been proved nor any charges filed, the Washington office recognized that another agent would have to be secured. Ewing found a qualified candidate for Standing Rock in the person of Father Joseph A. Stephan. This priest had been born in Germany, where he had been preparing for a military career when he decided to study for the priesthood. After he had immigrated to the United States both types of his early training were put into use, for during the Civil War Stephan had earned a distinguished record as a Union chaplain. The government had offered him a high position in

---

65 ABCIM, Jerome [Hunt] to Brouillet, Standing Rock, February 28, 1878. *Ibid.*, same to same, Standing Rock, December 13, 1877, had interceded for Hughes.

66 EC, Hammond to Ewing, Yankton, June 20, 1877.

the army when the war was over, but he had chosen to return to parish work in Indiana.[67]

With Stephan in mind for the position Ewing requested the Department of the Interior to dismiss Hughes. Although Schurz had called the offending agent to Washington for a conference, no action was taken at the time.[68] The official warning was ineffective, for later Marty told O'Connor it was inadvisable for the bishop to visit the reservation while Hughes remained, for the agent, he said, "seems to have taken all the better care of his own pocket."[69] In the meantime the submission of a bill in Congress to transfer the Indian Bureau to the War Department worried Father Stephan, for he feared that it would eliminate his prospective appointment. He asked for a government "blue book," that he might look up other agencies in which he would be interested, for by this time his desire to enter Indian work had grown. Stephan may also have had in mind having influence exerted in his behalf, for shortly thereafter an Indiana lawyer requested Ewing to speed the appointment of the priest if it could be arranged.[70]

While the Indian Office marked time about a new agent both the Catholic bureau and the missionaries in Dakota had continued their attempts to improve the education of the Indians at Standing Rock. Legislation to put the industrial school and model farm into operation was introduced in Congress on March 25 at the instigation of Brouillet. To familiarize the

---

67 EC, Stephan to Ewing, San Pierre [Indiana], February 20, 1878. Ewing had informed him about the agency on February 15. While serving as chaplain under General George H. Thomas Stephan had shown Union troops how to construct a bridge across a stream; "Monsignor Stephan," reprinted from the *Catholic Standard and Times, Indian Sentinel* (1902), pp. 2-5.

68 ABCIM, Ewing to Schurz, Washington, February 23, 1878, copy, had asked that Hughes be discharged. *Ibid.*, Brouillet to Marty, Washington, March 15, 1878, copy, advised that the agent had not visited the office of the Catholic bureau when he was in Washington to see Schurz. The priest added that Hammond had been promoted to Indian inspector, a development he regarded as favorable to Catholics.

69 AAO, Marty to [O'Connor], St. Meinrad, March 27, 1878.

70 EC, Stephan to Ewing, San Pierre, June 12, 1878; W. H. Calkins to Ewing, LaPorte, Indiana, July 3, 1878.

public as well as the legislators with its desirability he had printed circulars distributed. Excluding the buildings and equipment, the annual expenditure recommended was $6,000, which the treasurer estimated would be required for only two or three years. After that period he predicted that the establishment would be self-supporting through the sale of the products of farm, dairy, and work shops.[71] While the solons on capitol hill were considering this measure, the Benedictine sisters had opened the school for girls at the reservation, and within a month it was filled to capacity. Marty said at least three times as many pupils were anxious to be taken, but no more room was available.[72]

With the success of the instruction at both Standing Rock and Devil's Lake more was being said about the need for personnel as well as of money. The eastern bishop who believed that he would have extra priests available for the Indian missions must have changed his mind, for Marty could get Brouillet to say nothing more on the subject. So instead of welcoming six or eight newcomers, an addition here and there was sought with avidity. Abbot Martin considered it great news that a seminarian had finished his studies at St. Meinrad's and was ready to start for the Dakota missions.[73] Malo suggested that Brouillet ask the Archbishop of Quebec for the use of a priest among the Sioux, since he had heard that a Canadian chaplain had been sent to Oregon for service there.[74] While on a collection tour this veteran French-Canadian missionary had met a teacher to whom he had suggested pursuance of his vocation under the Benedictines at Standing Rock. His ability was never demonstrated, however, for he proved to be a confirmed drunkard, obliging Father Chrysostom in great disgust to buy a return train ticket to get rid of him. Malo having acted upon authority given by Brouillet, this irascible Bene-

---

71 AAO, Marty to [O'Connor], n.p., third day of Holy Week, [April 16, 18]78. A copy of Brouillet's circular was attached to the letter; ABCIM also had a copy.

72 *Ibid.*, same to same, Standing Rock, June 5 and July 7, 1878.

73 *Ibid.*, same to same, Standing Rock, July 25, 1878.

74 ABCIM, Malo to Brouillet, [Pawtucket], March 2, 1878.

dictine concluded a stinging letter to Washington by placing an embargo upon "any more individuals of such character."[75] But the bureau official paid the travelling expenses to Dakota of at least two priests who did excellent work there.[76] The difficulties could always be surmounted, in his opinion, for in mid-July he assured the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that once authorization was given for the Educational-Farming School at Standing Rock, "we can immediately supply the necessary instructors for the farm schools, male and female."[77]

With far less discussion and trouble Devil's Lake continued to be the banner reservation for Catholics in Dakota. Six months passed after the original arrangement before Claude Ebner relieved Louis Bonin as the chaplain, but this had involved no abatement of spiritual attention to the red men. The Grey Nuns under the supervision of Sister Clapin had kept the school at the high standard which had been established. As the beginning of a new fiscal year approached the superior made one of her infrequent requests, and the benefit from its concession was intended for the Indian children. Clapin asked Brouillet to endeavor to have the allotment per child increased by the government, with the thought that the additional revenue would be applied to the expense of taking other pupils free of charge. While the arrangements was not made exactly as the sister had proposed, the appropriation was increased by two-thirds during the next quarter-year.[78] Part of the allotment was designated for two cooks, for the sisters boarded the Indian children as well as taught them, as provided by the contract of the Indian Office with Brouillet. In his annual report Agent McLaughlin

---

[75] *Ibid.*, Foffa to Brouillet, Bismarck, May 29, 1878. Frank G. Thomas [the teacher] to Brouillet, Bismarck, May 17, 1878, had asked for "expense money."

[76] *Ibid.*, Brouillet to J. S. Brassard [spelling indistinct], Washington, May 7, 1878; Brouillet to St. Meinrad's Abbey, Washington, July 16, 1878, sent drafts for $65 to cover traveling expenses of Rev. F. Hendricks [spelling indistinct], both copies.

[77] *Ibid.*, Brouillet to Hayt, Washington, July 23, 1878, copy.

[78] *Ibid.*, Soeur Clapin, Supérieure, to Brouillet, Fort Totten, June 1, 1878. Brouillet to Clapin, Washington, June 18, 1878, copy.

stated that "the school is thoroughly systematized, and is doing a work among these people that cannot be too highly appreciated."[79]

McLaughlin himself was so irritated with a $300 reduction in his own salary that he seriously considered quitting the Indian service. Those who were familiar with his devotedness and worth besought the Catholic bureau to intercede in his behalf. Marty, who was soon to open a farm school on the reservation, recommended that the difference be paid out of the Indian mission fund rather than lose McLaughlin's services. In Bishop Seidenbusch's judgment the salary of such an excellent agent should have been increased rather than having been included in a general reduction order. While Sister Clapin recognized McLaughlin as a valuable ally for the religious work, she thought the government should have been interested in keeping him, too, because he was so well qualified for his position. Though his salary was not restored to its former level during the three years more that he remained in charge of the agency, McLaughlin continued to be as interested and successful in his administration as he had in the past.[80]

The first catechizing by the missionary, the school, and then a hospital were the ascending steps taken at Devil's Lake in civilizing the Indian through the doctrines and practices of Catholicity. In the annual reports of the Indian agents mention was always made of the sanitary conditions among the redskins, and this ordinarily was limited to some comment upon the mortality rate. The Grey Nuns had voluntarily aided the agency physician by caring for the sick and infirm residents on the reservation. Seeing what was being done without adequate facilities during his inspection in the fall of 1877, Brouillet had recommended a building being designated as a hospital. The

---

79 AUND, McLaughlin to J. B. [M.] Genin, Devil's Lake, July 20, 1878, stated that "the Catholic Bureau has also succeeded in having two cooks allowed for the School with a salary of $240.00 each per annum. . .This leaves our School in splendid working condition." Cf. *C.I.A., 1878,* p. 28.

80 ABCIM, [Marty to Brouillet], Standing Rock, July 9, 1878; Seidenbusch to Ewing, St. Cloud, December 20, 1878; Clapin to Brouillet, Fort Totten, June 1, 1878.

Commissioner of Indian Affairs approved an allowance of $2,500 for this purpose, and an addition was made to the school and apparently used for classrooms when not required for the sick. By mid-year (1878) the hospital at Devil's Lake was being used to care for both emergency cases and the Sioux who habitually required medical attention. This was one of the achievements to which the treasurer of the bureau pointed with pride. He noted in contrast to none at all at the beginning of 1874, twenty-one missionaries of both sexes were promoting the welfare of the Dakotas in 1878.[81]

The comparative prosperity of the establishment at Devil's Lake in no wise betokened that the financial affairs of all the Dakota missions were on a firm foundation. The situation at Standing Rock may best be recounted in the words of Abbot Martin: "Even here at Standing Rock where the government pretended to maintain a boarding school, we have to furnish the house, buy books and stationery and even milk and meat for the boys, pay for the washing, and the wages we get for four persons' hard work is $40 a month and plenty of abuse."[82] To obtain funds which the bureau was unable to furnish Brouillet suggested that the abbot send some of the Benedictines on a collection tour, especially into German-speaking parishes. He promised that all the proceeds realized would be placed in a special fund for two years for the exclusive use of the Dakota missions. But Marty did not see fit to make the attempt.[83] While he was in the east early in 1878 Bishop O'Connor had realized about $1,200 from a series of lectures, but more than twice this amount he had given to the missionaries, and his

---

81 *Annals,* II (July, 1878), 51-53.

82 AAO, Marty to [O'Connor], Standing Rock, June 5, 1878. AUND, Genin to McMaster, n.p., Indian Territory, July 29, 1878, reported that "4 persons have to live on 40 dollars a month, not each, but altogether (*sic*)."

83 ABCIM, Brouillet to Marty, Washington, March 12, 1878, copy.

funds were now exhausted.[84] Acutely conscious that the people in his own vicariate were struggling to establish homes and had nothing to contribute to the Indian work, he appealed to Cardinal McCloskey to have a collection taken up in the Archdiocese of New York. But living conditions in the East for the majority of those then belonging to the "Church of the immigrant" were so deplorable that the Archbishop of New York was not ready through another collection to divert to other locations the willing offerings of his people.[85]

In requesting Archbishop Gibbons of Baltimore to institute a national collection for the benefit of the Sioux missions Ewing explained that the money was needed to establish Catholic schools, especially for the bands under Red Cloud and Spotted Tail. As the agencies for these tribes had been assigned to the Protestant Episcopal Church, no government appropriations would be made for the Catholic teachers. However, the general urged that the schools be founded anyway, for he foresaw that the Protestants would be unable to supply the necessary instructors for their institutions. If the Church went ahead with her educational program Ewing believed that the government would accept it, once the non-Catholics had shown their inability to function successfully.[86] Though the prediction of the commissioner was borne out, at that time O'Connor saw no hope of favorable action. As he said, "the prejudice

---

84 AAO, O'Connor to Giovanni Cardinal Simeoni, Omaha, September 10, 1878, copy, stated he had given $3,000 to the Indian missions. The bishop feared the Benedictines might withdraw from Dakota due to lack of financial support. *Ibid.*, Marty to [O'Connor], Mineral Springs, Dakota Territory, September 15, [18]78, in thanking the bishop for another draft added: "If there are so many of our prelates who seem to ignore the work I am privileged to pursue, you certainly have from the very beginning of your episcopate done everything in your power to aid & favor me." ASVA, O'Connor to [Wimmer], Omaha, October 6, 1878, related that "I have already exhausted the little I found here, except a few hundred dollars. In doing so, I have thrown myself on Divine Providence, which, I am sure, will not desert me."

85 Guilday Collection, O'Connor to McCloskey, Omaha, June 28, 1878, copy. Cf. Nevins, *The Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1878,* pp. 318-328, for a description of the squalid living conditions of the poor in eastern cities.

86 ABCIM, [Ewing] to Gibbons, Washington, July 1, 1878, copy.

GENERAL CHARLES EWING

First Catholic Commissioner for Indian Missions

From original in the possession of his son, Charles Ewing, Boston.

and the dishonesty of the men connected with the Interior Department will prevent their fulfilling the obligations of the Government in this matter [educating the Indians] as long as they can." During an interview in Washington with Hayt the bishop had asked him if the department would respect the preference of the Indians for Catholic teachers. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs had replied, according to O'Connor, that "it would pay no more attention to it, than it would to a wish they might express for a feather of a particular color, or for a rifle of a new pattern." Both the bishop and Brouillet were strongly supporting a congressional bill which provided for the complete religious freedom of both missionaries and red men.[87] But the optimism which these men expressed during the first half of 1878 was not verified in the passage of the measure, and the attitude which Hayt had flaunted in O'Connor's face came to be enforced by the Secretary of the Interior.

The persistent effort by the officials of the Catholic bureau to maintain friendly relations with the Department of the Interior despite numerous provocations brought criticism sometimes from O'Connor and Marty.[88] That Ewing was by no means deluded but merely was making the best of the situation was exemplified in his advice to Stephan about being named agent for Standing Rock. Late in July Hayt finally agreed that the request of the previous February for the removal of Hughes was in order, and he asked that Stephan come to Washington. The general passed the information along to his nominee, at the same time advising him not to comply. Hayt did not have the right to demand that appointees make an appearance in the capital, said the attorney; moreover, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs could not be depended upon to keep his word about accepting Stephan.[89] Ewing's judgment was to be verified com-

87 Cf. n. 85 *supra*. AAO, Marty to [O'Connor], St. Meinrad, February 11, 1878, referred to the bishop being in Washington at that time.

88 AAB, 74-A-5, O'Connor to Gibbons, Omaha, October 13, 1878; ABCIM, Jerome [Hunt] to Ewing, Standing Rock, November 23, 1878; AAO, Malo to O'Connor, Washington, December 7, [18]78, were instances.

89 ABCIM, [Ewing] to Stephan, Washington, July 23, 1878, copy, warned that "the Commissioner might for any reason, or for none at all, refuse to appoint you, or postpone your appointment for months."

pletely, though an official request for the replacement of Hughes by the Indiana priest was filed. A week later Hayt, together with Secretary Schurz and Inspector Hammond, were praised by a newspaper for having uncovered the misdeeds of Hughes. This agent had resigned in the face of the charges, originally made by the Catholic bureau. Standing Rock was by no means exceptional in the corruption to which its agent stooped, for Hammond had unearthed the frauds of the official at Fort Thompson, south of Standing Rock, earlier that year, and the Protestant minister who was in charge of the Semhi Reservation in Montana was discharged for the same reason.[90] Again it was Hammond who had reportedly discovered "another agent to be a pious fraud and a cheat" in the Reverend E. H. Alden at Fort Berthold, likewise in Dakota Territory.[91]

Abbot Martin, who would have to work with the new agent, thought that Father Stephan would be satisfactory at Standing Rock, since he heard that the former army chaplain had great administrative ability.[92] His pressing concern at that moment, however, was the industrial school and farm, which the Indian Office had approved but had not yet furnished with any money for buildings and equipment. Either the approach of the early northern winter or his apostolic zeal inspired the abbot to favor instead a day school in each redskin village, with the central institution only for the more talented and advanced pupils. In view of the lack of money, and the improbability of the government furnishing the funds, the Catholic mission office did not adopt this scheme. After Ewing had tried to augment the feed supply for the cattle to be purchased, Brouillet made a trip to the reservation before he left for Europe.[93] Two priests, five brothers, and four sisters whom he met there amply provided for the expansion in teaching personnel. Proximity to the fort

90 New York *Times,* August 16, 1878, in an editorial, "Reforming the Indian Agencies." *Freeman's Journal,* April 27, May 25, and July 20, 1878.

91 New York *Times,* August 15, 1878.

92 AAO, Marty to [O'Connor], Standing Rock, September 4, 1878. Brouillet was then at the reservation.

93 ABCIM, Ewing to Lt. General P. H. Sheridan, Washington, August 16, 1878, copy.

was considered undesirable by all for the site of the industrial-farming school, and after some search Brouillet found a point on the bank of the Missouri River which he considered ideal. As General Sheridan had not seen fit to release from military stores any of the cattle feed which Ewing had sought, the bureau's treasurer spent part of his time helping to cut hay in order to save money for the mission.[94]

It seemed that Ewing's caution to Father Stephan concerning Hayt's reliability was to be confirmed to the limit when instead of the bureau's nominee a Captain Leverett M. Kelley came from Chicago to assume the civil office. Brouillet, who was still at Standing Rock, made his customary attempt to find something good in the man, saying that he might make a satisfactory agent.[95] However, he was not a nominee of the Church in accord with the Peace Policy, and if this Methodist was to take over Standing Rock, the priest urged Ewing to demand a like position for Stephan on another agency assigned to non-Catholics.[96] But on sensing that the Indian Bureau was not absolutely determined to impose the selection of Kelley, Brouillet resumed negotiations for Stephan to have the Standing Rock Agency as planned. Though the desired appointment eventually was signed by the President, both Kelley and the ex-agent Hughes stayed on the reservation for more than a month. The two men tried hard to have a friend of Hughes kept on the

---

94 EC, E[dward] D. Townsend, Adjutant General, to Ewing, Washington, September 11, 1878, advised "that the supply of hay on hand at Standing Rock is barely sufficient for the wants of the garrison." ABCIM, Brouillet to Hayt, Washington, July 23, 1878, copy, had urged that at least 100 tons of late hay be secured by the Indians as provision for winter feeding of the cattle.

95 ABCIM, Brouillet to Ewing, Standing Rock, September 10 and 19, 1878. EC, Stephan to Ewing, San Pierre, September 19, 1878, inquired: "Up to the present hour I have not received my commission yet. Is there any difficulty about it?" Unknown to Stephan, Kelley had officially been appointed agent at Standing Rock on August 30 and was to assume charge on September 21; RSI, Appointments Division, Executive Destinations, p. 124.

96 *Ibid.*, Brouillet to Ewing, Standing Rock, September 24, 1878, said: "If you can settle the question of principle with the Department in some satisfactory way, we have no objection to keeping Capt. Kelley as agent. But the question of principle must be firmly held on."

payroll as agency physician, perhaps unaware that Hammond had already officially charged the doctor with being a habitual drunkard.[97] Father Jerome became anxious that all would not be settled peacefully, but Stephan finally assumed control in late October, a little more than eight months after Ewing had first suggested the post to him.

Standing Rock and Pine Ridge, as the new reservation of Red Cloud was known officially, were about 250 miles apart in a direct line, and much farther in distance and time by the devious routes of water travel. Hence it would appear that the establishment of the industrial farm near Fort Yates and the attempt by the Catholics to gain a foothold among the Ogalala and Brulé Sioux were projects which were necessarily entirely separate. Relations with the Indian Bureau under the Peace Policy, however, intertwined them in a manner which had not been anticipated. Congress had adjourned before appropriating the $10,000 which the legislation would have earmarked for the school farm at Standing Rock. Realizing the desirability of the plan, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs promised $6,000 from the Indian educational fund to finance the initial steps in 1878. That was not the same as a congressional appropriation, and as in other matters the Catholic bureau was to encounter a protracted delay in the actual fulfillment of the agreement.

In the meantime the missionary whom Marty had left at the Spotted Tail Agency was going ahead with plans for opening a Catholic boarding school. The Episcopalians had already curtailed their day school at this point and closed the one at the neighboring reservation of Red Cloud.[98] Although Com-

---

[97] EC, Hammond to Ewing, Chicago, September 1, 1878, said that this Dr. John M. Green was to be suspended for drunkenness, but he feared pressure from the Indian Office might force his retention. Kelley was provided for by being appointed agent at the Los Pinos Reservation, Colorado, on September 26, 1878; *Register of the Department of the Interior, 1879* (Washington, 1879), p. 73.

[98] *B.I.C., 1878,* pp. 78-79, 110-111. In the summation of his report to the Board of Indian Commissioners E. N. Stebbins recommended boarding schools because he had observed that little progress was being made in day schools; *ibid.,* p. 80.

missioner Hayt had invited the Spotted Tail agent to expel the priest, the official had refused to send him away.[99] That suggestion having failed, Hayt endeavored to take advantage of the lack of funds among the Catholics. His method was refusing any federal help to the Church's missionaries, whom he wanted recalled from these Sioux reservations in spite of the petition of the Indians to have them.[100] Apparently Inspector Hammond tried to intervene in favor of the priests whom Abbot Martin had stationed there, for he told Ewing that he had talked with Schurz, who had promised to discuss the matter with the President.[101] But before he left Washington Brouillet must have been warned that nothing would be done about the school farm at Standing Rock if the Catholics did not conform to the wishes of Hayt. A couple of days after his arrival in Dakota the bureau treasurer sent word to Washington that the commissioner could be informed that the missionaries would leave the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail Agencies immediately. That Hayt might have no suspicion about the withdrawal being dilatory, Abbot Martin was taking the first boat down the Missouri to bring the priests away in person.[102]

With that letter commenced a long series of importunings to the commissioner to release the money which he had promised for the school farm. The main cause of Brouillet remaining on the Standing Rock Reservation for several weeks was not to cut hay. Useful as this labor was, his thought was that the draft from the Treasury Department would come, and he could

---

99 ABCIM, Marty to [Brouillet], Standing Rock, July 25, 1878. W[illiam] J. Pollock was the agent on this reservation assigned to the Protestant Episcopal Church.

100 AAO, Marty to [O'Connor], Standing Rock, September 4, 1878.

101 EC, Hammond to Ewing, Chicago, September 1, 1878. The letter was marked "strictly confidential." Referring to his friendship with the First Lady, Hammond promised: "If I see Mrs. Hayes here, and it is a possible thing, I will open the subject to her." After an interview with President Hayes Archbishop Gibbons had written only two weeks previously: "The President acknowledged the superiority of the Catholic missionaries over all others in benefiting the Indians"; AAB, Diary, August 14, 1878.

102 ABCIM, Brouillet to Hunter, Standing Rock, September 5, 1878.

then buy the cattle fodder and other supplies needed for the opening of the model farm. Colonel R. F. Hunter, an attorney who worked in the Washington office for several years, was regarded as a favorite of Hayt's, and to him was entrusted the office of inducing the commissioner to send the money.[103] For a month or so the change in agents was offered as an excuse for withholding the federal allotment, but a prompt notification to the Indian Bureau that Stephan had taken over brought no response in the form of money. For Father Jerome at the mission the situation grew increasingly critical. The months passed without the appropriation for the industrial farm and also without payment of the teachers' salaries for the agency schools. Late in November the Benedictine summarized his position in these words: "I have already been obliged to give out the last cent in my possession and also to borrow money to cover expenses."[104] In December the impasse was finally resolved when Stephan received $3,000 for the industrial establishment, and vouchers were supplied by the Indian Office for filing claims for the teachers' salaries.[105] But this was far from the last instance that Jerome pleaded with the Washington office to hurry the forwarding of treasury drafts, for the lack of a reserve by the missionaries and the traditional slowness of governmental procedure resulted in many embarrassing periods in the settlement of accounts.

The passing of the year 1878 by no means brought to an end the material and the human obstacles which the Catholic bureau and missionaries had to meet and try to overcome. Yet ac-

---

103 EC, Stephan to Ewing, San Pierre, September 19, 1878, mentioned Hunter's supposed influence with Hayt. ABCIM, Lusk to Brouillet, Washington, September 27, 1878, copy, reported that Hunter had been unable to persuade the commissioner to release the money.

104 ABCIM, [Hunt] to Ewing, Standing Rock, November 23, 1878. Previously another long letter beseeching prompt action had been sent by [Hunt] to Brouillet, Standing Rock, October 22, 1878.

105 AAO, Stephan to O'Connor, Standing Rock, December 14, 1878, advised this remittance had been received December 2. ABCIM, Hunter to Stephan, Washington, December 9, 1878, copy, sent vouchers and instructions; Lusk to Hayt, Washington, December 28, 1878, copy, forwarded the vouchers for payment; [Hunt] to Brouillet, Standing Rock, December 29, 1878, inquired when draft might be expected.

cording to the over-all review which was given in the official report of this year the brightest spot was Dakota Territory. The number of Catholic missionaries and teachers had more than doubled in the eight years of the Peace Policy, and of all the increases the outstanding was that for the Sioux missions: —from none at all to nineteen. Standing Rock, as related, had been hampered in the fall of 1878 by the delay in the actual reception of the appropriation promised. Nevertheless, in thanking Ewing and Hunter for their exertion in obtaining his appointment, the new agent declared that satisfactory progress was being made on the reservation. Though he was a civilian employee in the records of the Indian Office, Stephan was conscious of a double responsibility, which he expressed in a trenchant sentence:

> I know full well if I as [a] Cth. Priest would fail to fulfill my mission thoroughly the whole Protestantism from the great grandfather Martin Luther down to Susan B. Anthony would squeal like the hogs, which jumped in the sea, when our Lord drove the devils in them.[106]

From his personal inspection Bishop Seidenbusch asserted that Devil's Lake, the other Sioux reservation assigned to the Church, was a model agency. In regard to a report that the mission chapel there had been crowded by redskins for a religious service, a newspaper observed that "these innocent bewildered people" were capable of great accomplishments when aided by the proper instruction and care.[107]

The attempt to make a Catholic foundation among the followers of Red Cloud and Spotted Tail had been sacrificed for the sake of the industrial farm at Standing Rock—but for the time being only. To satisfy Hayt Marty had gone after the Catholic missionaries with these bands of the Sioux, and sent them away as the commissioner wished. On Saturday, September 21, he

---

106 EC, Stephan to Ewing, Standing Rock, November 14 and December 19, 1878.

107 ABCIM, Seidenbusch to Ewing, St. Cloud, December 20, 1878. Cf. *Wahrheitsfreund* (Cincinnati), December 11, 1878.

had stayed overnight with Red Cloud, and the abbot declared he had been inspired by the contented and happy family circle. Marty had been given such a warm welcome by this chief and the leader of the Brulé tribe, too, that he had promised both Red Cloud and Spotted Tail he would return in the spring to establish the schools they wanted for their children. Again they had told the Benedictine that the government had recommended missionaries of another kind to them, but they were determined to have the "black gowns" and no other. Judging by the comments which O'Connor made to an eastern friend, the abbot must have visited for about two weeks with the braves and their families. The high regard which the bishop had for the work which Marty was doing was demonstrated by his paying the abbot the supreme compliment within his power—recommending his elevation to the episcopate. It was stated in these words: "Dacota is to be erected into a new Vicariate immediately. At my suggestion he [Marty] was put first on the list sent to Rome."[108]

Though Father Stephan claimed that Secretary Schurz had personally assured him of doing all in his power to provide funds for the establishment of Catholic Indian schools, Marty felt that some independent action had to be taken if his promises to the Sioux chiefs were to be fulfilled.[109] He offered every

---

108 ASVA, O'Connor to [Wimmer], Omaha, October 6, 1878. Dacota was a variant spelling of the name of the Territory.

109 ABCIM, Marty to [Brouillet], Yankton, October 9, 1878; same to same, Omaha, October 10, 1878, related the promise made to establish schools, the endeavor which one commentator has singled out as the requisite for success with the Indians; cf., Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren*, p. 39. The promise of the Secretary of the Interior was quoted in AAO, Stephan to O'Connor, Standing Rock, December 14, 1878. Frederick P. Kenkel, late director of the Central Bureau of the Catholic Central Verein of America and the son of a German liberal emigrant to the United States, believed that Schurz was certainly not anti-Catholic. Schurz had been baptized a Catholic in his native Germany and had studied under eminent Catholic teachers at the Cologne gymnasium, but at the age of fourteen he had refused to make his first communion. Notwithstanding, during a personal interview Kenkel on September 12, 1951, recalled that Dr. Edward Preuss, late editor of the German-language *Die Amerika*, had called on Schurz in regard to the Catholic Indian missions when the Secretary of the Interior visited St. Louis, and Preuss reported he had been received very cordially.

argument to persuade O'Connor that he was the man to do the soliciting, but the bishop must have believed that the trip he had made the previous winter made it more appropriate for the Benedictine to go. Empowered with the approval of Coadjutor Archbishop Ryan, Abbot Martin had with some success spoken to several groups in St. Louis, including the leaders of the Catholic Indian Missionary bands. Because of the depressed business conditions he was not so hopeful of success in the East, especially in New York where the Catholics had just patronized a fair at the cathedral. His attempt to induce O'Connor to go in his stead having met with no success, Abbot Martin prepared to start for New York on January 2, and he asked his episcopal friend for his blessing on the enterprise.[110]

Abbot Martin got to New York sooner than he had anticipated, and this enabled him to be introduced to McCloskey at the cardinal's New Year's Day reception. A week later the Archbishop of New York talked with him again, but the interview dashed Marty's hopes for a collection in that city. McCloskey thought the following summer or fall would be a more propitious time. Others in the city agreed that the cardinal had made the best decision, probably in view of the recent burden on the charity of the people through the cathedral fair. While the abbot's principal dependence had been on the results in New York, he determined to go to other cities in the East as long as he had made the trip. To facilitate his reception he asked O'Connor to write more letters of introduction.[111]

But if his entry into New York had been unfortunately timed, the Benedictine was granted far more than he had expected in Boston. Archbishop John J. Williams authorized him to take up a collection in a different church each Sunday for as long as he could stay, so the letters of commendation to other eastern friends of O'Connor were not needed. Marty used the privilege until mid-March, when the approach of Easter made

110 AAO, Marty to [O'Connor], St. Meinrad, November 25 and December 24, 1878. This year of 1878 had been fixed as the low point of the industrial depression which followed the Panic of 1873; *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945* (Washington, 1949), p. 320.

111 *Ibid.*, same to same, New York, January 10, 1879.

his presence necessary at his abbey in Indiana. During his eastern visit he also went to Washington and saw Ewing and some government officials. In the open hearts of the New Englanders Marty found ample return for his journey.[112]

As Father Brouillet, from Europe, was doing his best to keep in touch with the affairs of the Catholic missions, during the same months Marty did not lose contact with his particular interests in this field from the relatively closer city of Boston. From the East he directed some of the preliminaries for another attempt to bring Catholicity to the Sioux, these being the same bands for whom the Yankton chief Pananniapapi had written DeSmet in 1866.[113] To Father Malo, who had been taking Brouillet's place as treasurer in the Washington office of the bureau, was the task delegated. From his observation of the priest at his work in the capital Marty's estimation of Malo's ability and character had been heightened immeasurably. He asked that O'Connor secure authorization from Bishop John Ireland of St. Paul for the priest to function in that territory also. Since 1875 negotiations had been going on for Irish Presentation Sisters to make a foundation in the Vicariate of Nebraska, and Malo was anxious that they be assigned to his mission, for the priest, in the words of Abbot Martin, "considers it the very means to gain a lasting & affectionate sympathy among the most numerous & generous class of our people [the Irish]." Marty made one trip to New York from Boston to enlist the intercession of a friend with this community of sisters, who actually came to Dakota Territory from Ireland the following year.[114] Before the Benedictine was again

112 *Ibid.*, same to same, Boston, January 23, 1879 and March 14, [18]79.

113 AMP, IX, D-12, Pananniapapi *et al.* to DeSmet, Greenwood, Dakota Territory, July 26, 1866. Marty had visited these faithful converts of DeSmet in 1877; "Report of Indian Missions of Dakota Territory," Marty to Bishop [Francis S.] Chatard, Fort Yates, February 1, 1883; printed in *Catholic Universe* (Cleveland), April 19, 1883. The report was sent to the newspaper by Chatard, who may have forwarded the original letter, as no copy could be found in AAI.

114 AAO, Ireland to O'Connor, St. Paul, April 10, 1879, granted O'Connor's request for Malo. AAO also contains a large file of correspondence relative to the coming of the Presentation nuns from Sister M. DeSales Carrick, Castleisland, County Kerry, Ireland, to Bishop James O'Gorman and his successor, Bishop O'Connor.

in the field himself Malo had begun his missionary endeavor among the Sioux, a lonely task which the abbot recognized was especially difficult.

With this veteran secular priest opening a new mission, Marty augmented the staff of Benedictines at Devil's Lake and Standing Rock by sending two more brothers of his order to the latter reservation and another to the northern agency. With the industrial farms in operation at both places the abbot had selected men who were excellent farmers. This willingness and ability to work with the people whom they were trying to convert has been ascribed as a major factor in the success of the Catholic missionaries.[115] Another priest, this one the agent at Standing Rock, also had that practical knowledge. His experience was shown through his requests for Ewing's assistance in getting equipment and live stock for the school farm.[116] And as the general had been called on in his first days of the Catholic bureau to obtain a permit for the importation of sacramental wine to Alaska, his influence was still being sought for affairs which affected the bureau only indirectly. For instance, the commander of the military post at Fort Yates sent a petition for him to handle for the employment of his father-in-law in government work. A couple of months later Stephan asked his intercession for an increase in the military pension the latter was receiving as a consequence of an injury suffered when he was a chaplain in the army.[117]

Without having any presentiment of how much the move was to affect both his own missionaries and the whole Peace Policy, while in the East Abbot Martin had noted that a new agent had been appointed to succeed the friendly James Irwin

---

115 *Ibid.*, Marty to [O'Connor], St. Meinrad, March 31, [18]79. Priest, *op. cit.*, p. 39, declared: "Real success [in christianizing and civilizing the Indian] was achieved only where missionaries opened schools in practical education and did not refuse to labor in the fields. Unfortunately such work was seldom attempted."

116 EC, Stephan to Ewing, Standing Rock, March 12, 1879, wanted approval of requisition for milk cows and horse teams. He asked Ewing to inform the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that the oxen which had been approbated were not suitable for the work, in his estimation.

117 *Ibid.*, same to same, Standing Rock, March 15, 1879 and July 10, 1879.

at Pine Ridge Agency. At the neighboring reservation of Spotted Tail he heard that the Episcopalians were more active, apparently determined, as he said, "to hold their ground in spite of the aversion of the Indians." When he was in Washington Secretary Schurz had told him that "the Protestant league" had used every means to defeat the congressional legislation which was intended to transfer the Indian Office to the War Department and at the same time grant religious freedom to Indians and to missionaries alike. Congressman Albert M. Scales of North Carolina, who had introduced the measure the previous May, remarked to Marty he had thought of separating the two proposals into different bills in order to show clearly the friends and foes of each.[118] Though the Secretary of the Interior had been helpful, his Commissioner of Indian Affairs was definitely hostile, from what Marty had seen in the capital. He feared that the interpretation which Hayt would give to the Peace Policy would be extremely distasteful to Catholics. Yet the ones for whom Grant had intended the benefits of his program, the Indians, were in the case of the Sioux begging for "black gowns." This fact was demonstrated anew when Spotted Tail and thirty of the tribe's lesser chiefs sent a petition for Catholic teachers to Schurz while the Benedictine superior was in Boston.[119]

Almost three years had passed since the Catholic bureau had entrusted the Standing Rock Reservation to the Swiss-born Martin Marty. Devil's Lake Agency, semi-isolated to the north, had supplied an example of smooth operation, enjoying as it did the capable administration of Agent James McLaughlin. The measurable progress achieved under the direction of Abbot Martin had been restricted to some extent by intrinsic and extrinsic obstacles. Until the appointment of Father Stephan as agent, the civil operation of Standing Rock was not in step with the work of the Benedictines. Success also had been mitigated by

118 AAO, Marty to [O'Connor], Boston, January 23, 1879; same to same, New York, February 13, [18]79. The agent appointed for the Sioux of Red Cloud was V[alentine] T. McGillycuddy; *B.I.C., 1879,* p. 121.

119 *Ibid.,* same to same, Boston, March 14, [18]79; same to same, St. Meinrad, March 31, [18]79.

the turmoil among the Sioux, originating in the uprising of Sitting Bull. Though the Indian Office had never been very sympathetic with the Catholic missionary activity, after the inauguration of President Hayes a worsening took place in the attitude of Commissioner Hayt. Nevertheless, Marty had proved that patient training of red men in both mind and body was in fact leading them to civilization. In the spring of 1879 prospects were bright on the two Catholic reserves in Dakota Territory for the copper-skinned population to enjoy a happy, peaceful life. Before this aim had been completely attained, the Catholic Indian office and its cohorts in the field were seeking to expand operations, even to reservations not assigned to the Church.

But as Marty had told Bishop O'Connor, the true friends of the red race in high places were few, while their enemies were both numerous and powerful. Such opposition had not stifled the abbot's purpose. In passing he had reiterated his intention not to be influenced by anything but the welfare of the Indians, subject only to the human limitations of sufficient personnel and the ever present problem of adequate funds. The officials of the Catholic bureau and O'Connor at Omaha had long before found that Marty transferred his resolutions into solid action. Recognition of his mighty efforts came from Rome itself in August of this year 1879 in the appointment of Martin Marty as titular Bishop of Tiberias. Immediately thereafter came the erection of Dakota Territory into a separate vicariate with the Benedictine as its episcopal head. The recommendation which O'Connor had mentioned the previous October had been accepted, and Abbot Martin was soon to become Bishop Marty, still the Apostle of the Sioux.[120]

---

[120] *Sadliers' Catholic Directory, Almanac, and Ordo, 1880* (New York, 1880), p. 422. Marty was appointed bishop on August 8, 1879; the Vicariate Apostolic of Dakota was erected on August 12, 1879, with Marty in charge. The documents of appointment are in the archives of the Diocese of Sioux Falls. ASVA, O'Connor to [Wimmer], Omaha, October 6, 1878, had mentioned recommending these moves to Rome.

CHAPTER VII

A VICTORY FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

The year 1879 opened with two of the principals absent from the posts where they had been contributing their part in the Church's effort to give the light of faith to the aborigines. But though he was not radiating energy from the office of the Catholic commissioner, Father Brouillet was winning papal approbation for the work of the bureau by his able presentation of its achievements in Rome. In Boston Abbot Martin, who has been selected to exemplify the labors of the 145 Catholic Indian missionaries in the field that year, was enjoying success in his round of collections for the Sioux missions. In their respective fields of action, General Ewing in Washington and Bishop O'Connor in his Nebraska vicariate were directing the labors of many others. Though, perhaps, unsung these workers must be honored for their steadfast devotion to the welfare of the red race.

The renewal by Archbishop Gibbons of the earnest sanction of his predecessor and the approbation which Brouillet secured in Rome were valuable endorsements. They gave the Catholic commissioner's office a solid claim to being the authorized agency for the Indian missions of the Church in the United States. At best, the bureau might be said to have acquired also a genteel poverty—else there would have been no need for Marty undertaking the distasteful task of soliciting funds. But even that status represented improvement over the previous condition of dire want. In any war men and materials are required for winning and retaining victories, and the struggle to bring Christianity to the red men was no exception. So not in braggadocio, but rather in an appraisal of the arms for continuing the struggle, had the bureau pointed out that under the Peace Policy Catholic missionaries and teachers had increased by seventy-four, churches by fourteen, boarding schools by eight, and

day schools by fourteen. Especially in the Church's educational facilities had the growth been remarkable, for in 1870 there had been a total of only eight institutions for teaching the young and the adult Indians.[1]

Chilling excessive elation over these solid achievements was the fact that not a single agency had been added to the total assigned to the Church. In fact, a numerical loss had been incurred through the consolidation of the Papago Reservation in Arizona with another agency.[2] Though the Catholic commissioner and the missionaries no longer had to contend with the hostility of Columbus Delano, the opposition of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was no figment of the imagination. That Ezra A. Hayt was unfriendly to religious freedom for the Indians was borne out convincingly by his reception of a compilation of laws which had been made by Ewing. This was not a collection of statutes pertaining to the Indians, though for some time enlightened criticism had been revealing the desirability of having the same legal principles apply to both white and red men.[3] Ewing had rather gathered the legislation governing the status of missionaries on reservations assigned to the denomination they represented. What was more pertinent, he also included their position on agencies allotted to a different religious group. In the commentary which accompanied the quotations from the statute books the Catholic attorney expressed no endorsement of the laws which vested agents with the power to expel a missionary whom the civil officer regarded as an intruder. Nevertheless, the commissioner gave to the missionary the practical counsel that, as he phrased it, "in all things

---

1 *Annals of the Catholic Indian Missions of America,* II (July, 1878), 64.

2 *B.I.C., 1879,* p. 124. Cf. *The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, 1874 to 1895* (Washington, 1895), p. 5. For meaning of symbols cf. "Abbreviations used in Footnotes."

3 Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren,* pp. 199-200. However, Felix R. Brunot, Chairman of the Board of Indian Commissioners, had wanted only a limited application of the laws; *Journal of the Second Annual Conference of the Board of Indian Commissioners, etc.,* p. 61.

that are not sinful, it is his duty to conform to the laws and customs in force."[4]

Neither Brouillet nor O'Connor liked the observations of the attorney in regard to the law. The bishop at least felt that the commentary should have scored an agent who expelled a missionary for teaching the word of God. Ewing had promised to assemble the laws without any comments, though in his opinion the average priest or minister was no better fitted to understand and explain the law than the lawyer was the gospel.[5] But when Hayt read the compilation he was so favorably impressed that he offered to make it an official publication of the Indian Office, providing only that the concluding paragraph was dropped. The part to which he objected read:

> In conclusion, it must be said that no American can admit that the Government has the right to prescribe a form of worship for any tribe or nation under the sun, no matter what its condition or relation to the Government may be, nor has it the right to prevent, directly or indirectly, any community from worshipping Almighty God according to the forms it may hold to be necessary. Under our free Government a man has one right that he cannot, under any conditions, forfeit to the law, even though by his crime he has forfeited all else, and that is, the right to receive the Sacraments of the New Law according to the forms that his conscience dictates.

In a United States which had so lately celebrated the first centennial of the birth of a nation which had made religious freedom a cornerstone of its Constitution, it is difficult to find cause therein for Hayt's objection. The former Union general, of

---

[4] Ewing, *Compilation of Statutory Law as it Affects Indian Reservations, and Comments thereon for the Guidance of Indian Missionaries* (Washington, [1878]), n.p.

[5] AAO, Malo to O'Connor, Washington, December 7, 1878, sought to placate the bishop.

course, refused to delete this passage, and the compilation was issued by his office instead of the federal Indian Bureau.[6]

As early as 1875 an influential friend with the Erie Railroad had told Ewing that there was little hope of a proposed Sioux agency in the Black Hills being awarded to the Church.[7] Nevertheless, the large number of Indians and their repeated entreaties for Catholic teachers had whetted the interest of both the Washington officials and the Benedictine fathers. When the Brulé and Ogalala tribes had moved to southwestern Dakota Territory in December, 1878, Marty had been at the camping grounds to greet them, he having previously visited them at their old home in 1877.[8] Upon his return from the Atlantic seaboard in the spring of 1879 the abbot advised O'Connor that after Easter he would send Father Meinrad McCarthy from the Indiana abbey to Red Cloud and his bands. Both Marty and the Omaha bishop had been incensed at the laws which Ewing had quoted and the interpretation which was being given to them by Hayt. Though the Benedictine only alluded to it at this time, he later said that the bishop had decided to make a test of the prohibition of a missionary entering a reservation assigned to another denomination. On his way north McCarthy was instructed to stop in Omaha to receive

---

6 Charles S. Lusk, "A Retrospect of Fifty Years," *Indian Sentinel,* IV (January, 1924), 3-4. As Ewing's young law clerk Lusk had entered into the work of the Catholic Indian missions at the time the commissioner's office was approved on January 2, 1874. Of Pennsylvania Presbyterian ancestry, Lusk became a Catholic in 1894, a step which he ascribed to his remembrance of the saintly Brouillet. In 1927 Pope Pius XI appointed him Chamberlain of the Sword and Cape; William Hughes, *ibid.,* VII (Spring, 1927), 53; he died in Washington in 1928 after more than fifty-four years of service with the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions; Hughes, *ibid.,* VIII (Fall, 1928), 172. Lusk's son, Rufus S. Lusk, recalled that his father had incurred the ire of his parental family by marrying a Catholic, and ultimately by becoming a member of the Church himself. In his later years with the bureau Rufus said his father was the liaison man between the office and members of Congress, with whom he had great influence; personal interview with Rufus S. Lusk, Washington, D. C., January 22, 1951.

7 EC, Chas. S. Medary to Ewing, New York, March 29, 1875. Medary had written to Columbus Delano in this regard, but the Secretary of the Interior had not replied.

8 "Report of Indian Missions of Dakota Territory," Marty to Chatard, Fort Yates, February 1, 1883, printed in the *Catholic Universe* (Cleveland), April 19, 1883.

O'Connor's guidance for his movements, though the abbot observed that the priest was full of zeal and confidence for the undertaking.[9]

When McCarthy came to Pine Ridge he received a warm welcome, as he expected, from Red Cloud. The chief immediately proposed that the missionary live in the house which the government had nearly completed for the Indian. The new agent, Valentine T. McGillycuddy, had been away for about two weeks. In his absence James A. R. O'Beirne, a special agent who was a personal friend of Ewing, received him very kindly, promptly giving him twenty dollars as a donation for his work.[10] O'Beirne, however, made no attempt to conceal the probability that McCarthy would be ordered to leave when the agent returned. He himself followed regulations in notifying the Indian Commissioner of the presence of the Catholic priest. The Benedictine figured that about ten days would be required for any instructions or dismissal to come from Washington. Meanwhile he found a number of the Indians and the white employees at the agency anxious to attend Mass, which he was offering every morning in one of the buildings then being constructed.[11]

The estimate of ten days for instructions to come from Washington was accurate, for on May 10 Hayt telegraphed O'Beirne to expel the Catholic missionary from the Pine Ridge

---

9 *Ibid.*, Marty said that McCarthy had been sent to Pine Ridge to test the ruling; AAO, Marty to [O'Connor], St. Meinrad, March 31 and Good Friday [April 11], 1879.

10 ABCIM, O'Beirne to Ewing, Chicago, August 4, 1874, while on his way to Fort Sill, Indian Territory, to enter the Indian service hoped that this experience would fit him for the position which President Grant and Secretary Delano wanted him to have and for which, he added, "the hierarchy among whom I am widely known would endorse me to any extent required. I would prefer however outside of Father Deshon to be appointed on my personal claims & politically, rather than mix the religious with state influence to which as a Catholic, I am opposed on principle."

11 AAO, Meinrad M. McCarthy to [O'Connor], Pine Ridge Agency, May 6, 1879, reported that "I arrived here late on the 30th of April." *Ibid.*, Marty to [O'Connor], St. Meinrad, May 12, 1879, did not agree in all details, advising that McCarthy had appeared there on May 1, and he "had found everyone well disposed toward him, and he hoped to establish a school."

Reserve. But the special agent did not deem his delegated power sufficient for that action, and left the matter to be handled by McGillycuddy, advising Washington to this effect. When the agent returned he promptly executed the order telegraphed to O'Beirne. He also embodied verbal instructions which he said had been given to him by Hayt, perhaps, in his last briefing in Washington before assuming charge of the agency that spring. The essence of the formal notice which he served on the Benedictine was contained in this sentence: ". . .your presence on this Indian Reservation cannot be allowed, ecclesiastically or otherwise." In sending to the Indian Commissioner a copy of the expulsion note he had handed to the priest, McGillycuddy stated succinctly that "the gentleman left the Reservation immediately on receipt thereof."[12]

According to both the priest and the agent, the primary reason for McCarthy departing quickly and quietly was to avoid arousing the disappointed Indians. From his longer acquaintance with these Indians the agent later was quoted as saying that he had feared bloodshed by Red Cloud and those of his followers who still treasured the memory of DeSmet. Not realizing that the braves might go to that extreme, McCarthy had the practical motive of not wanting any disturbance for which he might be blamed and thereby become liable to a fine of $1,000.[13] Bishop O'Connor, to whom that reason was related, probably was just as glad, too. It was to him that the expelled missionary was to appeal during the next four months for several fifty and one hundred dollar remittances to cover the few expenses of his spartan existence. McGillycuddy had told the priest that while he was of no religion himself, he would personally approve of the Catholic Church being admitted to all agencies because its form of worship had greater appeal to the red men than any other. Nonetheless, his biographer

---

12 RBIA, L.R., Red Cloud 1879, M 1087, McGillycuddy to Hayt, Pine Ridge Agency, May 19, 1879, enclosed copy of letter which had been handed to McCarthy on May 17, officially notifying him of his expulsion.

13 Ewing, *Compilation of Statutory Law as it Affects Indian Reservations, etc.* had quoted this penalty from Section 2148 of the Revised Statutes of 1873-1874.

relates that with a touch of humor McGillicuddy said that the Peace Policy had decreed that the Red Cloud Indians must travel to heaven by the Episcopal route. Since he could get no one to drive the priest off, he informed McCarthy that the missionary would save him a great deal of trouble by departing quietly and leaving the settlement of the issue to Washington.[14]

McCarthy went south into Nebraska near Fort Sheridan, about two miles off the reservation itself and nine miles from the agency buildings. Red Cloud came after him to assure him that he had the chief's permission to re-enter, but the priest knew that the government would not recognize the Indian's right to issue such leave. Then the chief said that a petition would be sent to the "great white father." While awaiting the outcome of that request, the priest crisply stated that "My chapel & residence, a canvass tent, is 14x16—sanctuary 10x14."[15]

The following Saturday Red Cloud again came to the prairie home to ask McCarthy to return to the reserve, and the priest once more mentioned the $1,000 fine in saying that he had not done so. The Indians had told the agent that every man, woman, and child of the Red Cloud nation wanted Catholic teachers. This statement McGillycuddy had promised to report to the President with his own recommendation for McCarthy's recall. As weeks slipped by with neither reply nor action the Benedictine became increasingly incredulous that the wishes of the red men had been made known to the Indian Office, and the tribesmen were of the same mind.[16] Actually their suspicions were unfounded, for on the same day that a general council of the Ogalala Sioux was held McGillycuddy had forwarded their signed petition to the President in care of

---

[14] Julia B. McGillycuddy, *McGillycuddy, Agent* (Stanford, California, 1941), pp. 106-108.

[15] AAO, McCarthy to [O'Connor], Pine Ridge Agency [actually written from his camp in Nebraska], May 19, 1879.

[16] *Ibid.*, same to same, near Pine Ridge Agency, May 24, June 4 and 21, 1879. McCarthy advised that mail could be sent to him in care of Fort Sheridan, Nebraska.

the Indian Commissioner. Without any comment of his own the agent had transmitted a record of the speeches made by the chiefs (all of them had attended) and headmen who had gathered for the meeting. The briefness of the agent's communication was more than compensated for by twelve pages of the words spoken by the leaders of the redskins. Primarily they called upon President Hayes to redeem the promise he had made to give them "black gowns" when they had been transferred to their new home in southwestern Dakota. In addition to the general plea, Red Cloud himself declared that "there is one of these men here now, and I want him to stay." Apparently the lengthy petition never left Hayt's office, for both it and the register of letters received bore the single notation: "Filed."[17]

While his priest was camped outside of the boundaries of Pine Ridge Abbot Martin was making plans to help Sitting Bull, the Sioux chief in whom he had never lost interest. The previous July he had been considering Devil's Lake Reservation as a possible haven for the returning exiles. In his opinion, the hostiles (as the rebellious Indians were known) would willingly come back from Canada and surrender their arms, if they were permitted to retain possession of their ponies. He had discussed possibilities with the commander of the British police force in the hope that the United States and Canada could reach an agreement whereby "we could settle this international question without any noise or expense."[18] At the very time that McCarthy first entered the Pine Ridge Reserve the abbot told O'Connor that he felt all other considerations would have to be put aside until he succeeded in bringing the exiled Sioux to rest. There could never be permanent peace among

[17] RBIA, L.R., Red Cloud 1879, M 1121, McGillycuddy to the President of the United States, Pine Ridge Agency, May 26, 1879. Attached was the record of the proceedings of the Sioux in their general council. This correspondence was stamped: "Rec'd June 2, 1879."

[18] ABCIM, Marty to [Brouillet], Standing Rock, July 9, 1878.

the other tribes, he felt, as long as the hostiles remained a potential source of trouble.[19]

After McCarthy had been ordered off the Pine Ridge Reservation Abbot Martin admitted having refrained from protesting simply because he did not want to spoil his plan for helping Sitting Bull. As the first effort to send missionaries to Red Cloud and Spotted Tail had been postponed in order to favor the establishment of the industrial farm at Standing Rock, so again these bands were temporarily sacrificed while Marty sought Canadian co-operation for the return of the hostiles. In his judgment these Sioux could not survive another winter in the north, and his double concern was expressed in these words: "I must first save their lives if I shall save their souls."[20] From the north two reports brought no change in the enmity of the chieftain toward the Americans, with whom he was bitter for having deceived him and driven him from his native hunting ground.[21] If the abbot feared for the survival of these Sioux in another northern winter, Sitting Bull stubbornly expressed no such concern. He declared that his people would hunt the Canadian buffalo until they disappeared and then "I will send my children on the prairie to hunt mice."[22]

Father Malo said that Abbot Martin was authorized by both the United States and the Canadian governments to bring these Sioux to some reservation south of the international boundary.[23] However, the Benedictine superior, by that time aware

19 AAO, Marty to [O'Connor], St. Meinrad, May 2, 1879. In his annual report, McGillycuddy to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Pine Ridge Agency, October 15, 1879, the agent mentioned the unsettling influence upon the Ogalalas of the large bands of northern hostiles; *C.I.A., 1879* (Washington, 1879), p. 37.

20 *Ibid.*, same to same, Milwaukee, June 28, [18]79, said: "I am on my way to Canada, where I hope to gain the co-operation of the government for the favorable reception of the exiled Sioux by the U. S."

21 New York *Times*, July 7, 1879.

22 Chicago *Tribune*, July 11, 1879, carried a resumé of an interview with Sitting Bull by Stanley Huntley.

23 AAO, Malo to O'Connor, Wheeler, Dakota Territory, September 8, 1879. Malo had just learned through a letter of Brouillet from Dublin that Marty had been named a bishop on August 8. *Ibid.*, B[ernard] Mackin to O'Connor, Deadwood, Dakota Territory, September 30, 1879, regretted that Marty had been unable to visit his parish because of his absence in Canada.

that he was destined to become a bishop, said on the eve of his departure north that he did not intend to invite the Indians to remigrate to the United States. His purpose in talking with Sitting Bull and his followers was to explain their present peril and to assure them of equal treatment with the other red men if they did come back peaceably.[24] The trip which he expected to take six weeks actually required more than eight, despite the assistance given to him by the British officials. For the time being the hostiles remained in exile, though ultimately the good advice of the abbot was taken in their return to the United States.[25]

While his abbot was preparing for his journey and then traveling north to Sitting Bull's rendezvous Meinrad McCarthy maintained his lonely vigil in the tent he had pitched on the prairie. An answer never came from Washington to the plea of the Ogalala tribe for his readmission to the reserve; but aside from a round trip of over 300 miles which he took to the nearest priest at Deadwood in order to go to confession, the missionary waited—and hoped in vain.[26] From his own observations and the conversations he had with Indians who visited him the priest was convinced that schools were essential for the spiritual development of the red men. During August his expectations were aroused by the news of an approaching visit of Secretary Schurz. In the company was Protestant Episcopal Bishop William H. Hare, who had already com-

---

24 AAO, Marty to [O'Connor], Bismarck, August 22, [18]79, was leaving in a few hours on the steamer *Butte* for Fort Benton as the first leg of his journey.

25 *Ibid.*, same to same, Standing Rock, November 11, 1879, had just returned from the British possessions. The statement that Sitting Bull accepted the amnesty promised by General Nelson A. Miles and returned to the United States in 1879 is inaccurate; *Encyclopedia Americana,* XXV (New York, 1949), 48.

26 *Ibid.*, McCarthy to [O'Connor, near Pine Ridge Agency], September 3, 1879. *Ibid.*, B[ernard] Mackin to O'Connor, Deadwood, September 30, 1879, mentioned that McCarthy had been there a couple of weeks previously.

plained himself about the administration of the Peace Policy.[27] But any thought which the Benedictine may have entertained of the cabinet official reversing the ruling by Hayt was summarily dispelled. Though personally very friendly, the German liberal who had sought a sanctuary of freedom in the United States was unwilling to grant the same liberty to the Indians. The priest had not and did not intend to violate the law, but he told Schurz if a dying redskin requested the last sacraments of the Church, he certainly would answer the call. The Secretary of the Interior was unwilling that he go to the reserve even for that urgent spiritual necessity because, McCarthy reported, "he thinks the time has not yet come for the poor Indians to have religious liberty."[28] Yet it was only two days later than an important New York newspaper, following advices sent by its correspondent traveling with the official party, praised Schurz for his Indian policy, in which he had the full support of the President.[29]

Before his departure for Canada Abbot Martin, recognizing that nothing more was going to be accomplished by Father McCarthy, consulted O'Connor about sending him to care for some Irish settlers. The day after McCarthy had reported about his interview with Schurz notification came from Marty to withdraw. Making another call upon O'Connor for $100 to finance this enterprise, the erstwhile Indian missionary trav-

---

27 "Seventh Annual Report," Hare to Board of Managers, Rosebud Landing, Dakota Territory, September 26, 1878, *The Spirit of Missions,* XLIII (New York, 1878), 476. Hare had complained about the removal of a number of missionaries from agencies during the previous March. While they had been charged with maladministration and irregularities in their accounts, no official report had been given to the bishop by the Department of the Interior. Hare contended that individual shortcomings could not be charged to the Episcopal Church, and he felt that the government should supply more information about removals. Hare was at the Pine Ridge Reservation by August 26, 1879; *B.I.C., 1879,* pp. 80-82. AAO, McCarthy to [O'Connor, near Pine Ridge Agency], August 9, 1879, said he anticipated the visit by Schurz and Hare during the next month.

28 AAO, McCarthy to [O'Connor, near Pine Ridge Agency], September 3, 1879; McCarthy to the Reverend Emil Perrig, near Pine Ridge Agency, n.d., made about the same report; this latter letter was mentioned in Perrig's unpublished diary, according to letter from Duratschek to the writer, Yankton, December 21, 1951.

29 New York *Times,* September 5, 1879.

eled eastward across the Missouri River to Bon Homme County to build a chapel for the homesteaders from Erin.[30] Neither the expulsion nor the four-month vigil of McCarthy was mentioned in McGillycuddy's annual report, and Schurz, too, was silent about the incident in recounting his inspection of the Dakota agencies.[31] Though in undisputed possession of the two new Sioux agencies, the Episcopalians could hardly have been elated at their success with these Indians. The agent on the Rosebud Reserve for the Spotted Tail Sioux was very pessimistic about the day school which had been opened there, stating that the tribesmen were dissatisfied with it. About a month later Bishop Hare turned it over to the government.[32]

Having tested the law and found that as construed it denied to the aborigines the freedom of conscience enjoyed by the dominant race, the next step appeared to be an attempt to change the legal provisions. Brouillet was still absent from the country, and Marty consulted his bishop as to whether they should seek to have a new bill introduced in the coming forty-sixth Congress. The legislation which the chairman of the committee on Indian affairs in the House of Representatives had sponsored for the transfer of the administration from the Interior to the War Department had been tabled. With that failure to act disappeared the hope that its co-provision of religious liberty for the Indian would be placed on the statute books. Marty had wished that the United States would extend the general law to cover the original inhabitants of the land as was the

---

30 AAO, Marty to [O'Connor], Bismarck, August 22, [18]79; McCarthy to [O'Connor], Camp Robinson, Nebraska, September 4, 1879.

31 McGillycuddy to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Pine Ridge Agency, October 15, 1879, *C.I.A., 1879,* pp. 37-40; *R.S.I., 1879* (Washington, 1879), I, 5-9.

32 Cicero Newell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Rosebud Agency, September 13, 1879, *C.I.A., 1879,* pp. 41-43; AAO, McCarthy to [O'Connor], near Bonhomme, October 24, 1879, thanked the bishop for $100 and added: "Bishop Hare, Episcopal, is fast losing ground in this part of the world. He was forced to turn over to [the] government his school of 102 pupils at Rose-bud agency. The Episcopalians are becoming unpopular both with the Indians and the whites." The annual report for the second agency at Pine Ridge was silent about any educational activity there; *C.I.A., 1879,* pp. 37-40.

case in Canada.[33] After a visit to Washington late in July he abandoned that thought, nor did he look for any intervention by the chief executive. In respect to that last possibility he said that "we need not expect that Pres. Hays (*sic*) will change the policy of Pres. Grant with regard to the Indians nor heed any petitions they will address to him."[34] To anticipate a few months, O'Connor did appear before the Indian affairs committee of the next Congress. As a consequence of his testimony a measure was introduced which provided for "giving all religious denominations equal rights and privileges on the Indian reservations."[35] But the bill never emerged from the limbo of forgotten legislation—referral to committee. At the moment the Catholics had no allies in contending for the lifting of the religious restrictions on the Indians.

Before this legislation was introduced and while Marty was on his way to see Sitting Bull the Washington office regained an energetic spirit in the return of Brouillet from Europe. On his homeward journey he had written to some of the agents and missionaries, and before he actually arrived in the capital Stephan in response had sent his congratulations on the success of the European pilgrimage.[36] Without affecting the actual operation, at this time the title of Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions officially replaced that of Office of the Catholic Commissioner. Moreover, Brouillet did not resume his former position of treasurer, but henceforth was known as the director of the bureau. Father Felix Barotti, who had been engaged in parish work in the capital for some years, succeeded Brouillet as treasurer, but he seemed to have confined his activity strictly to the handling of accounts during the next two years.[37]

---

33 AAO, Marty to [O'Connor], Bismarck, August 22, [18]79.

34 *Ibid.*, McCarthy to [O'Connor, near Pine Ridge Agency], September 3, 1879, gave this quotation from a letter Marty wrote to him, Jamestown, August 11, [18]79.

35 *Congressional Record,* 46th Cong., 3rd sess., H.R. 1370.

36 ABCIM, Stephan to Brouillet, Standing Rock, September 13, 1879. Malo also mentioned that Brouillet had written him from Dublin; AAO, Malo to O'Connor, Wheeler, September 8, 1879.

37 *The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, 1874 to 1895,* p. 8. Brouillet was appointed director on October 14, 1879.

Father Malo had functioned in this capacity when Brouillet had sailed for France in November, 1878, relinquishing the position the following spring in order to open a new mission, called St. Ann's, near Wheeler, Dakota Territory. As has been mentioned, this move exclusively under Catholic auspices represented another attempt to christianize the Sioux. Malo's establishment along the Missouri River had been commenced and continued without any assistance from government funds.

Though Malo immediately set to work to build a mission house, a sort of combination church and living quarters, his intention from the first was to civilize the red men through education.[38] The reservation system had not only benefited the white settler, but it protected as well as controlled the redskins in this period of vanishing frontiers. Notwithstanding, isolation alone would not bring the roving hunter of the plains any closer to the ways of civilization. To accomplish this end the Catholics followed the proved system of establishing both school and church. For varied reasons—greed, prejudice, or ignorance—the ability of the red man to learn had been questioned. However, as long before as colonial days the British Indian superintendent, Sir William Johnson, had declared there was no basis for such doubts.[39] Some like John J. Ingalls, United States Senator from Kansas, considered no methods effective with the Indian "unless they are based upon force supplemented by force and continued by force."[40] Notwithstanding, the Indian Bureau after long procrastination finally came to recognize the worth of training at least the young In-

[38] AAO, Malo to O'Connor, Wheeler, September 8, 1879, said the building then "had cost some fourteen hundred dollars." Two years later, after additions had been completed, its expense totalled $3,500; *Annals,* II (July, 1881), 24. Earlier this same year the first church at Standing Rock had been completed at a cost of $1,400, paid for from the earnings as teachers in the government school of Father Jerome and the Benedictine brothers; Schier, "Indian Missions in North Dakota," p. 53; the joy of the Indians over its erection is related in Duratschek, *Crusading Along Sioux Trails,* p. 81.

[39] *House Report No. 29,* 46th Cong., 1st sess. Cf., *B.I.C., 1874,* pp. 6-7, which lamented the lack of schools. Leger, *The Catholic Indian Missions in Maine, 1611-1820,* p. 118, quoted a statement Johnson made in 1771 that Christianity would teach the ways of peace to the Indians.

[40] *Congressional Record,* 44th Cong., 1st sess., IV, 3953.

dians in the arts of culture. A notable step in this direction, aside what was being done on the reservations by the missionaries and teachers, was the opening of the Indian School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in October of this year 1879.[41]

While Brouillet brought back a favorable report about the willingness of the Irish Presentation Sisters to undertake a school in Dakota Territory, the permission from Rome for the ambitious attempt had not yet been received. Already forty years in missionary work, Malo was too experienced to wait on hopes.[42] With his church-school fairly well completed in November he started teaching the children himself. A Catholic half-breed, with whom Abbot Martin had stayed during his visit two years before, had donated ten acres of ground upon which the building had been erected. Malo proudly called his institution, "St. Ann's Academy," and quoted a tuition of one dollar a month for those who could pay. The public notice of the opening, which Malo signed under the title of "Teacher *pro tem.*" as he anxiously awaited the sisters, had an interesting postscript on the religious policy followed. It read:

> It is a strict rule with us never to teach religion to children, unless specially requested by parents themselves.
>
> The teacher however shall open class every morning, and end it at night by the Lord's prayer, and the evangelical salutation of Gabriel according to St. Luke, c. I, v. 28.[43]

Malo kept the school going throughout the winter, but was very happy to welcome five sisters the next April. The living accommodations for these Irish teachers were starkly primitive, but in praising the spirit of their Indian pupils they showed courageous enthusiasm themselves.[44]

While this mission had been established independently for the Sioux, no change was made during the fall of 1879 in the

---

41 Dale, *The Indians of the Southwest,* p. 178; *B.I.C., 1879,* p. 15.

42 AAO, Carrick to O'Connor, Castleisland, Ireland, December 10, 1879, advised that the required documents had come and asked the number of nuns that O'Connor wanted.

43 EC, Malo to Brouillet, Wheeler, October 27, 1879, gave a four-page report on his mission and attached a copy of the public notice (handwritten).

44 AAO, Malo to O'Connor, Wheeler, April 30, 1880.

prohibition of Catholic teachers entering the reserves of Pine Ridge and Rosebud. No proof exists that it was to seek a clarification of the policy of the secretary, but the apostolic zeal of Ellen Ewing Sherman may have prompted the invitation which was extended to Schurz in October to dine with the general and his wife.[45] In any event the cabinet officer made no mention at all of the Peace Policy in that section of his annual report which treated Indian affairs. In an editorial prompted by the issuance of this document Schurz was hailed as a practical administrator and no mere theorist in regard to the native wards of the government.[46] This liberal Republican enunciated his general policy in the 1879 departmental release. He placed his reliance for ultimate success with the red race in education of and work by the Indians, distribution of lands in severalty, and a division with members of a nation or tribe of the receipts derived from the sale of surplus land which had been assigned to that group. Not a single reference, however oblique, was made to the christianization of the Indians nor of any religious body to whom a reservation had been assigned.[47]

Successive presidential administrations had become accustomed to receiving—and disregarding—protests from Catholics concerning restrictions on religious liberty for the red man. As an important observer had noted, not until a complaint came from a Protestant denomination was the Indian Office impelled to review its decision.[48] It came about in this way. Almost on the ninth anniversary of Grant's announcement of his Peace Policy the secretary of the Dakota Mission of the Congregationalists advised Hayt that one of their missionary teachers had been sent to the Devil's Lake Agency. This reservation to the north had been assigned to the Catholics from the commencement of the program. The Reverend Alfred L. Riggs was not raising his voice against an unfriendly reception there,

---

45 LC, Schurz Papers, invitation to Schurz, dated October 20, 1879, to dine on October 23 with General and Mrs. W. T. Sherman.

46 *R.S.I., 1879,* I, 5-9. Cf. New York *Times,* November 28, 1879, in an editorial, "Secretary Schurz on the Indians."

47 New York *Times,* November 28, 1879, in its news dispatch from Washington.

48 Priest, *op. cit.,* p. 34.

for he specifically stated that "the agent is also friendly, though a Catholic." Riggs was not even seeking approval of what had already been done, but he wanted the Indian Commissioner to authorize James McLaughlin to issue Indian rations to the missionary, Daniel Renville, and the family he had taken with him.[49] Though Hayt's predecessor had forbidden Sister Clapin at Devil's Lake to use any of the rations personally which she distributed to the pupils, the head of the Indian Office replied that he would be glad to assist Renville and his family with an issuance of rations. But the invasion of the territory otherwise assigned could not be overlooked, and the Indian Commissioner called attention to the rule of his office against such intrusion. Since the interpretation had been invoked against Catholics in the past, Hayt said that justice demanded that Renville leave the northern Dakota reserve.[50]

Certainly after some correspondence, and probably following conferences, the directors of the Dakota Missionary Society appealed to the Secretary of the Interior against the ruling which Hayt had made on January 3. No upholder of the principles of the founding fathers, and certainly no American Catholic, could have differed with the following statement, which was the essence of the lengthy protest:

> We submit that it is a limitation of religious liberty which is contrary to the Constitution of the United States, and repugnant to the spirit of this enlightened age. We deny that the Indian Bureau has any constitutional authority to create and maintain such religious monopolies.[51]

Another dissent was filed simultaneously by John C. Lowrie, secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. He

---

49 RBIA, L.B., Miscell. 1879, R 882, Riggs to Hayt, Santee Agency, Nebraska, December 2, 1879.

50 RBIA, L.S., 154, 193-194, Hayt to A. L. Riggs, Washington, January 3, 1880. The prior prohibition was contained in ABCIM, J. Q. Smith to McLaughlin, Washington, January 9, 1877.

51 RBIA, L.R., Nebraska 1880, R 163, Alfred L. Riggs, Santee Agency, Joseph Beachsmith, Flandreau, Dakota Territory, and John B. Renville, Sisseton Agency, directors, to Schurz, Santee Agency, February 11, 1880. No mention of the incident was made in *B.I.C., 1879,* pp. 15, 52, 74, 80, all in regard to this agency.

asserted that the prohibition to Renville remaining at Devil's Lake was not only contrary to religious freedom but it was based upon an erroneous premise, for he contended that his church has never objected to the presence of Catholic priests on the Nez Percé Reserve in Idaho.[52] Lowrie had represented the Presbyterians since the inception of the Peace Policy. Therefore, his misstatement must be ascribed to a lapse of memory rather than unacquaintance with the violent outburst of 1873 against the Catholic missionary by a Presbyterian minister at Lapwai, Idaho. Lowrie had correctly said that Commissioner Edward P. Smith had given permission to a Catholic priest to conduct religious services on that reservation. But it was the objection filed by this agent, John B. Monteith, that had resulted in the first exclusion of Catholic missionaries from the agencies allotted to other denominations under the Peace Policy.[53]

Something more basic than bringing the matter to the attention of the head of Department of the Interior had prompted the addressing of these two protests to Schurz rather than to Hayt. It will be remembered that Columbus Delano, who had been so hostile to the Catholics in the first years of the Peace Policy, had departed from his cabinet office under a cloud. The secrecy with which President Grant had cloaked that maneuver could not be thrown over the operations of Hayt, the second major opponent in the government of the Church's missionary endeavors. At the 1880 annual meeting of the Board of Indian Commissioners General Clinton B. Fisk, a member from Missouri, had charged that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had used his position to gain personal control of a mine in Arizona. While a Democratic newspaper gave extended publicity to this and other criticisms of the conduct of Indian affairs in a Republican regime, a pro-administration New

---

52 RBIA, L.R., Devil's Lake 1880, 5 L 241, Lowrie to Schurz, New York, February 5, 1880.

53 RBIA, L.R., Nez Percés, 1873, Monteith to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Lapwai, May 15, 1873; *ibid.*, L.S., 1873, 112, 305-306, Smith to Monteith, Washington, May 24, 1873, are two letters in connection with the ruling relative the Nez Percés.

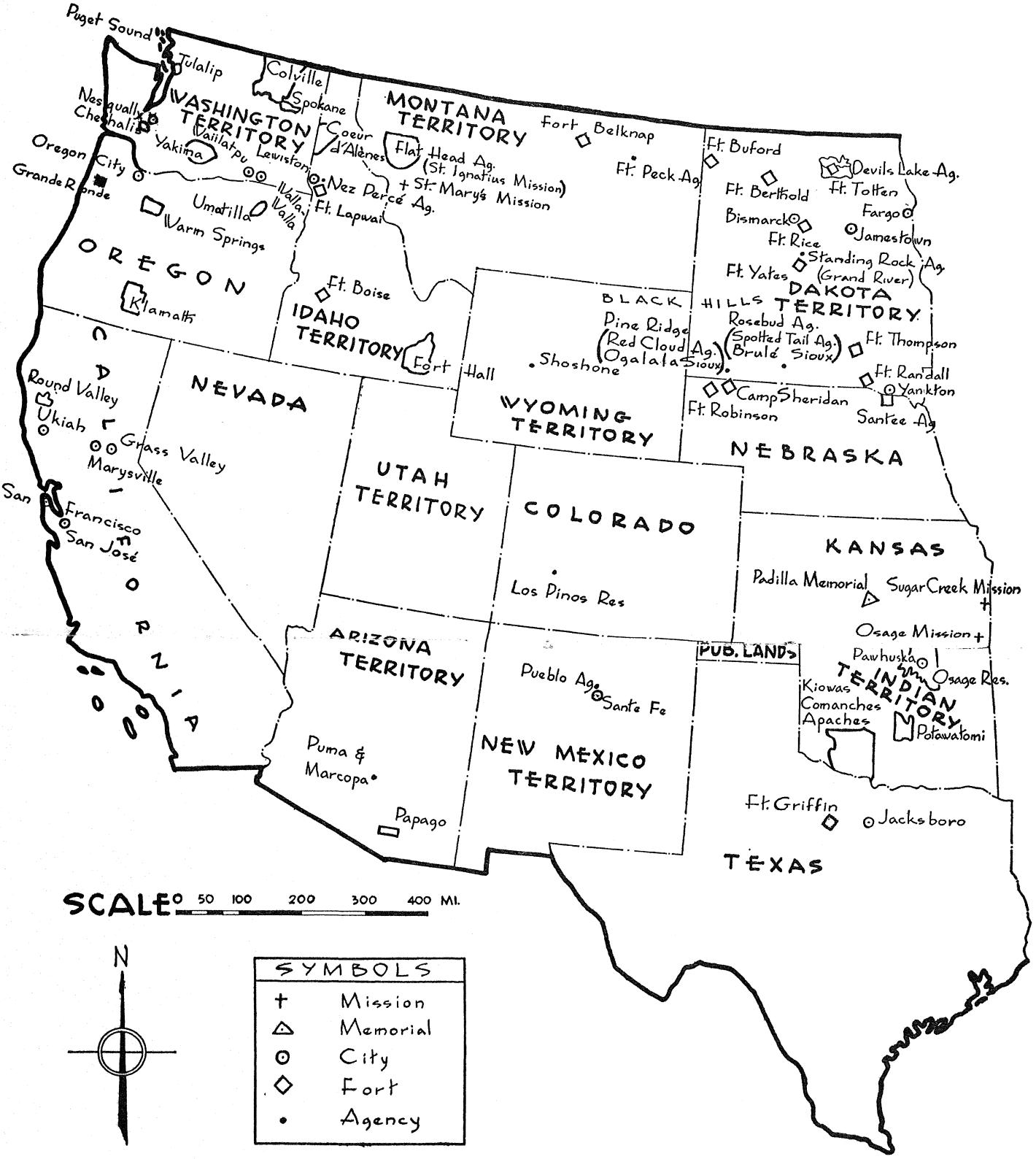
York journal simply noted that the accusations were unproved.[54] Undaunted by the coolness accorded his personal investigation by the chairman and fellow-members of what had been labeled the "honorable and highly ornamental Board of Indian Commissioners," Fisk persisted in his search for evidence against Hayt. Late in January Schurz declared that "if there is anybody who wants to cheat the Indians he is not in the Interior Department"; yet before the month ended he was forced to dismiss the Indian Commissioner. The same newspaper which had initially regarded Fisk's investigation as of little consequence, then declared that Hayt's removal from office had not come a day too soon. The editorial added that "the crowning disgrace was that the commissioner was entrusted with carrying out a 'policy' which is not worthy of the name."[55]

President Hayes and his Secretary of the Interior realized that public confidence in the Indian Office had been badly shaken by this scandal. In an effort to restore its prestige great consideration was given to the selection of Hayt's successor, Rowland E. Trowbridge of Michigan finally having been named. Though General Fisk personally had been responsible for uncovering Hayt's machinations, the Board of Indian Commissioners had become so ineffectual that a metropolitan newspaper thought it necessary to explain that it existed. In this election year it may well have been a political move to regain public confidence that a rumor came from Washington in June that General Ewing was to be appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Shortly thereafter a delegation from the Catholic Young Men's National Union called on Hayes to ask that an end be put to the decade-old exclusion of any representative

---

54 *The Sun* (Baltimore), January 9, 16, and 20, 1880; New York *Times,* January 14 and 15, 1880. Cf. *B.I.C., 1879,* p. 8.

55 RBIC, L.R., Tray 123, Schurz to the Board of Indian Commissioners, Washington, February 2, 1880, asked that in view of the publicity which had been given to the charges against Hayt an investigating committee be appointed; these charges are in RBIC, Tray 3. The New York *Times,* January 29 and 30, 1880, contained news items and editorials on Hayt's dismissal, as did *The Sun* (Baltimore), on January 24, 30, and 31, 1880. Cf. *B.I.C., 1879,* pp. 68-71, for a summary of the investigation by Fisk.



Operations among western Indians to 1879

of the Church from the Board of Indian Commissioners. The President replied that he thought Ewing was a member all the time![56] Though two resignations were filed by board members in that same month, the position was not offered to the Catholic attorney.[57]

The 1880 meeting of the Board of Indian Commissioners with the representatives of the religious societies had not only resulted in the exposure of Hayt and discredit on the board members for having allowed his schemes to escape detection, but it almost sounded the requiem of the Peace Policy itself. A journal devoted to Indian affairs observed that the conference opened in an iceberg-like coldness. Catholics had long since ceased to attend the yearly assemblies, which one commentator said had become no more than occasions for missionaries relating their supposed successes. But there was little cause in January, 1880, for jubilation with the government program for the red race. During the year the Society of Friends, the first to have been granted the power of nominating Indian agents, had resigned from any future participation in the procedure. At the meeting General Fisk brought out that a man had joined the Methodist Church simply to secure a position on a reservation.[58] The general breakup of religious sponsorship which threatened during the meeting in Washington did not come about at the time. The dissatisfied delegates were placated by assurances from the President and the Secretary of the Interior that some rectification would be made. From his experience seven years before Father George Deshon, the Paul-

---

[56] New York *Times,* June 6, 1880. Cf. Priest, *op. cit.,* pp. 71-72.

[57] New York *Times,* June 8, 1880, reported the resignation of Amos C. Barstow, chairman; *ibid.,* June 19, 1880, had an article on E. M. Kingsley giving up his membership. Kingsley never used his given name in his official correspondence.

[58] *B.I.C., 1879,* pp. 82-85, 118. In the ten years of service it has been estimated that the Liberal Friends expended more than $60,000 on the Indians; Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians, 1655-1917,* pp. 196-197. Cf. Priest, *op. cit.,* p. 40, for comments on the annual joint meeting of the board members and the religious societies.

ist, would probably have been amused at the promise which was made for a general redistribution of the agencies.[59]

While the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions had not participated in this joint conference, Brouillet seized the prospective dissolution of the Peace Policy as an opportune occasion to send a circular letter to the Catholic hierarchy. If the readjustment should take place, he warned them the Church must be much better prepared to act than it had been in 1870, when the first assignments were made. He wanted the bishops to contribute to a fund for financing any fresh missionary endeavors which might be offered.[60] While endeavoring to promote the larger donations, the director of the bureau did not overlook lesser opportunities. One presented itself when he secured a total of $1,575 for the instruction which was being given in the school at Standing Rock. To Father Jerome he pointed out that the trips he had made to the agency had been exclusively for the benefit of the operators of the agency school and industrial farm. He asked that out of this large payment $200 be given to the Washington office to cover the expenses of one of the journeys.[61] Jerome readily consented, telling Brouillet to cash one of the government drafts and send him the balance of $325. While that method of handling the transaction would have been entirely legitimate, the Washington official refused to permit even the shadow of suspicion to touch his handling of the contracts for teaching. Pointing out that he had never yet cashed a remittance for any of the schools, he asked the Benedictine to send him the money from the proceeds. Though Stephan urged Jerome to send the donation and

---

59 *Council Fire,* IV (February 1, 1880), 4. This journal about Indian affairs was published in Washington. It has been called a Protestant paper in ABCIM, Brouillet to René de Semaille, Washington, July 18, 1878, copy.

60 ABCIM, Brouillet to 'Most Reverend Sir,' Washington, March 1, 1880, copy.

61 *Ibid.,* Brouillet to [Hunt], Washington, January 3 and 5, 1880, copies. Brouillet stated that $1,518 had been received for bureau operating expenses during 1879, and more than $2,000 was needed. The *Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore), January 10, 1880, printed the names of the contributors during 1879, as furnished by Brouillet, and added a laudatory editorial entitled, "Catholic Indian Missions."

the latter frequently repeated his promise, neither the $200 nor any part of it ever was actually added to the funds of the bureau.[62]

While sometimes he disagreed with the Benedictine method of operating the model farm, as the agent Stephan continued to demonstrate his own practicality. During his last month in office Hayt approved this priest's recommendation that the licensed white traders on the reserve not be allowed to give the Indians credit slips or tickets for goods purchased from them. The Indian Commissioner agreed that the red men, unfamiliar with credit transactions, should receive cash in every instance for the products of their labor.[63] Again, when Brouillet conceived that a saving might be effected by buying farm equipment and supplies in the East, Stephan immediately drew attention to two defects of the scheme. "I have farmed long and extensively enough," he asserted, "to know that the entire crop might be lost through delayed delivery of the orders." In addition, he had seen that eastern merchants were inclined to send shoddy products to customers who were so far distant.[64]

Sickness for a time threatened to take this nominee of the bureau away from Standing Rock and out of the Indian service altogether. In anticipation of that happening, Marty—who on February 1 had been consecrated Vicar Apostolic of Dakota Territory—proposed shifting McLaughlin from Devil's Lake south to Standing Rock. As a replacement he offered John W. Cramsie, who was McLaughlin's brother-in-law and who for several years had been a trader at the northern Dakota agency. During these first six months of 1880 the Church lost by death an Indian missionary of fifty years service, Father Francis Pierz, and also Father William Byrne, who had

62 *Ibid.*, Jerome [Hunt] to Brouillet, Standing Rock, January 28, 1880; Brouillet to [Hunt], Washington, February 17, 1880, copy; Stephan to Brouillet, Standing Rock, May 10, 1880, regretted his delay in writing but had waited "as Father Jerome promised me to send also $200 to you."

63 RBIA, L.S., 154, 195, Hayt to Stephan, Washington, January 3, 1880. Stephan, for instance, had reported that the work of the Indians at the farm school was irregular and misguided; ABCIM, Stephan to Brouillet, Standing Rock, September 13, 1879.

64 ABCIM, Stephan to Brouillet, Standing Rock, February 1, 1880.

first given the Benedictines authorization to go to Standing Rock. Stephan, however, regained his health shortly after approval had been obtained for McLaughlin taking charge of that reservation, and so the transfer was not made then.[65]

The protest of Riggs and Lowrie against Hayt's order for the Congregationalist missionary to leave the Devil's Lake Reserve had been referred by Schurz to Trowbridge, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Poor health delayed the latter in the assumption of his duties, thus causing a couple of months to pass before any action was taken. Early in April the new commissioner addressed a circular inquiry to the religious denominations which were participating in the Peace Policy. In it he called attention to the successive prohibitions to the missionaries in Dakota Territory entering reservations which were not allotted to their own denomination. Trowbridge adverted to the Catholics having long proclaimed that it was their right to conduct religious services wherever they saw fit, and he called attention to the fact that two Protestant denominations had recently said much the same. In view of these expressions the commissioner requested all the societies to file a statement of their views about the restrictiveness of the past interpretation of the law.[66]

Within two weeks all of the answers had been sent to the Indian Office, though more than a month passed before Trowbridge advised Alfred L. Riggs at the Santee Agency of the result. As the commissioner interpreted the letters he had received, the sentiment was as follows:

---

65 *Sadliers' Catholic Directory, Almanac, & Ordo, 1881* (New York, 1881), pp. 43, 46. ABCIM, Brouillet to Stephan, Washington, May 19, 1880, copy, regretted that Stephan's services would be lost for the most important agency of the Catholic bureau; Stephan to Brouillet, Standing Rock, May 31, 1880, advised that he was so much improved that he wished to remain at the reservation, if the Washington office could rescind arrangements which had been made with McLaughlin and with Commissioner Trowbridge.

66 RBIA, L.S., 154, 395-396, Rowland E. Trowbridge to B. Rush Roberts, Washington, April 7, 1880. According to a notation the same letter was mailed to representatives of other societies.

> . . .two were non-committal, one favored the removal of all restrictions to the missionary work of the societies among Indians, and six gave unqualified approval to the recent ruling of the [federal Indian] office that the various denominations confine their missionary operations among Indians to the reservations assigned them. Under these circumstances, I do not deem it advisable to reverse that ruling, as requested by you.[67]

One of the replies which had been marked "neutral" was from the Presbyterian secretary who had joined Riggs in demanding a revocation of the order removing the Congregationalist missionary from the Catholic reserve. John C. Lowrie in his second letter said that his original protest had applied to the one case only, and it was the policy of the board of his church to refrain from all interference with the procedure of the government.[68] And so the Catholics had quickly lost what had seemed to be an ally in their campaign for religious freedom for the Indians.

Although setbacks of such an important nature might well have been discouraging, there was no indication of lessened activity at the Catholic bureau. Wherever the Church had been permitted to establish schools for Indian children they had proved successful. In April Brouillet applied for a renewal of the contracts which the government had entered into with him for operating a total of ten institutions. The allotments by the Indian Office for this educational phase had reached $27,800 yearly to the schools for which Brouillet acted as the official sponsor. The plan which he had begun thirteen years before had been adopted by others, too.[69] A couple of weeks after requesting the renewal of these agreements Brouillet asked permission to open another school at the Fort Peck

---

[67] RBIA, L.S., 154, 521, Trowbridge to J. S. [Alfred L.] Riggs, Washington, May 27, 1880.

[68] RBIA, Miscellaneous 1880, L 524, Lowrie to Trowbridge, New York, April 10, 1880. "Neutral" has been written on the back of this letter with the filing data.

[69] *Ibid.*, B 282, Brouillet to Trowbridge, Washington, April 21, 1880.

Agency in northeastern Montana. Though evidence is lacking, it seems safe to assume that Marty had brought back word of the lack of any instruction of the red men at this reservation. It is certain that he had stopped there on his trips to see Sitting Bull. In applying for the authorization of the school the director of the Catholic bureau called attention to the deficiency in that respect, though the reserve had been committed to the care of the Methodists several years before.[70]

In the meantime Secretary Trowbridge had tested the sentiment of the various religious societies in regard to permitting missionaries to go wherever they thought the word of God should be taught. The adverse feeling to this move which had been voiced by most of the Protestant denominations had been revealed in May. Notwithstanding, no reply was made to Brouillet's request until mid-August. The acting Commissioner then acknowledged that there "had been made no attempt at educational or missionary work among the Fort Peck Indians." However, he said that the Methodists had signified that they would soon begin "cultivating this hitherto neglected field." Because of this intention permission was positively refused for any Catholic missionary to preach or teach on the Montana Indian reserve. This instance verified the observation made later by a student of the problem that "sects anxious to supply agents were often unable to supply missionaries." While the 1880 report on this agency mentioned that the Methodists had voted to open a school, it was not included among the activities discussed in the summary for the following year.[71]

For the two-fold purpose of arousing Catholic—and if possible general—indignation at the ruling of the Indian Office and also to promote financial support Brouillet spoke to several national Catholic societies during this summer of 1880. Before

---

[70] ABCIM, Brouillet to Trowbridge, Washington, May 7, 1880, copy. The petition was repeated on July 28, August 2, and August 12, 1880; *ibid.*, copies.

[71] *Ibid.*, E[dwin] J. Brooks to Brouillet, Washington, August 14, 1880. The comment on the failure to fulfill the religious phase of agency allotments was made in Priest, *op. cit.*, p. 30. Cf. *B.I.C., 1880* (Washington, 1881), p. 67; *B.I.C., 1881* (Washington, 1882), pp. 61-64.

the edict excluding Catholic missionaries from all other reservations was issued by acting Commissioner Brooks the director had addressed the Catholic Young Men's National Union. In consequence a committee from that organization called on the President, who promised to consider the petition for better representation of Catholics. But nothing more came of the pledge than had the assurance which Hayes had made to the group of Protestants who had asked the previous winter for a redefining of the Peace Policy.[72] However, the Catholic Young Men's Associations, in heartily endorsing the work of the bureau, had called upon their local societies to give generously in order to participate in that manner in the labors.[73]

Shortly before Edwin Brooks wrote his response to the numerous petitions for permission to establish a school at Fort Peck Father Brouillet had spoken at the annual convention in Scranton of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union. He adroitly elicited the support of the delegates by relating his own observation and the report of James McLaughlin about the eradication of drunkenness among the Sioux of Devil's Lake Reservation. As the young men had done at their gathering a couple of months before, so this assembly officially recommended the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions to its local chapters. A petition was also sent to Secretary Schurz for turning over to the Church the care of all Catholic Indians. The small effect of this motion may be judged from the ruling against Catholic missionaries, which was promulgated a few days after the convention's sentiment had been made known officially. The result of the endorsement sent to the local temperance

---

72 RBIA, 1880, S 1267, M. E. Strieby to Trowbridge, New York, April 15, 1880, lamented the failure of Hayes and Schurz to give any answer to the petition which had been presented to them after the January conference in Washington.

73 New York *Times*, June 6, 1880. The resolution adopted was printed in the *Annals*, II (July, 1881), 11. The Catholic Young Men's National Union was the one social group accorded special praise in the pastoral letter of the hierarchy written at the conclusion of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884. Peter Guilday, editor, *The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy, 1792-1919* (Washington, 1923), p. 261.

groups was much better, for eight of them responded with contributions before the end of 1880.[74]

In June Ewing had filed an exception to the interpretation of the law which had been made by the Indian Office. He cited the constitutional prohibition on congressional limitation of the free exercise of religion. Since the legislative body could not give it, he held that no government official could "exercise authority over any human being on religious matters." Notwithstanding, the Indian Office had reiterated the ruling which Commissioner Hayt had made against Father McCarthy at Pine Ridge Reserve in 1879. Brouillet had printed copies of this official statement distributed to the members of the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union of the United States, who met at Wilmington, Delaware, exactly a month later, in September, 1880. In addition to the instruction of the Indian Bureau, the leaflet contained a bill which it was hoped would be offered to the next Congress.[75] This legislation would have given all religious denominations equal rights of entry to all Indian reservations, and the convention delegates voted their approval of the suggested statute. Proper notice of this action, together with official protests against the previous unfavorable edicts of his department, were sent to Carl Schurz. Units of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union in Philadelphia and San Francisco also were asked to notify their congressmen of the legislative measure. But as long as they were alone and acting in this open manner the Catholics were impotent to move any of the government officials. Nothing at all resulted from the petions sent that summer by the three Catholic conventions.[76]

---

[74] *Annals,* II (July, 1881), 2-6, 12-13. Cf. Sister Joan Bland, S.N.D., *Hibernian Crusade: The Story of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America* (Washington, 1951), p. 100.

[75] ABCIM, Ewing to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, June 16, 1880, copy. EC, printed leaflet, undated, contained the two texts mentioned.

[76] *B.I.C., 1881,* pp. 74-75, published Brouillet's speech to the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union on September 14, 1880. ABCIM, Brouillet to Will T. Ryan, Washington, October 7, 1880; Brouillet to James F. Wood, Washington, October 9, 1880, both copies. In 1884, the Catholic Total Abstinence Union had 10,000 members in Philadelphia alone; Bland, *op. cit.,* p. 116.

If the Catholics were thwarted in some attempts to aid the red men, additional reasons were sometimes given for the Indian feeling that he had enemies as well as friends among the white men. His capacity for progress through education had already been demonstrated especially in the Catholic schools. This ability became generally accepted through the publicity which the government organs accorded to Captain Richard H. Pratt and the Carlisle Indian School. Yet all were not equally convinced. The enduring skepticism was exemplified by the Iowan who declared that "sympathy with Indians is like milk spilled on the ground. It is lost. They are valueless & useless."[77] If such expressions could be dismissed as mere words, attention was demanded by the persistent intrusion of white settlers on land which had been set aside for the redskin. To some the free land available to homesteaders was not nearly so appealing as the flinty hills consigned to the Indians. Beginning in the spring of 1880 and continuing throughout the year a party led by a certain Captain David L. Payne made sallies into Indian Territory, was driven out, and hovered in southern Kansas for fresh invasions contrary to both law and treaty. In December Payne's band of about 100 was joined by some Negroes who were dissatisfied with the outcome of the emancipation for themselves.[78]

By this time it must have been clear that the officials of the Washington bureau would not permit legal barriers to chill their ardor. And they could have taken considerable satisfaction in the progress of the Sioux who had been assigned to the Church. By the time McLaughlin forwarded his annual report in September he could praise the school for larger boys which the Benedictines had opened during the previous January. Secretary Schurz had come to agree fully with Sister Clapin's

[77] RBIA, Miscellaneous 1880, E 581, E. W. Eastman to Schurz, Eldora, Iowa, November 18, 1880. Cf. Elaine G. Eastman, *Pratt: The Red Man's Moses* (Norman, 1935), *passim*, for a popular acount of this innovator in Indian education.

[78] New York *Times* gave frequent reports; cf. especially issues of July 10 and 17, October 24, and December 11-24, 1880. Cf. Priest, *op. cit.*, p. 72. For a full study of Payne's activities, cf. Carl Coke Rister, *Land Hunger: David L. Payne and the Oklahoma Boomers* (Norman, 1942), pp. 50-98.

belief that a boarding school was far superior to a day institution for developing a liking for civilization among children who so lately had been nomads of the prairie.[79] As a life-long occupation for Indian girls in their own homes the superior of the Grey Nuns proposed that weaving be taught to them. Though wool was readily available from shearing the reservation's sheep, the agent had to write several letters before the Indian Office approved the purchase of $150 worth of equipment. The experiment was so succesful, however, that Brouillet brought it to the attention of the sisters in other schools with the recommendation that they, too, teach weaving. Paganism had been so ingrained in these red men that a council had been held against the introduction of Catholicity the very night that the Grey Nuns had arrived in Devil's Lake in 1874. Six years later McLaughlin reported that Sunday church services were well attended by the Sioux, and some of the converts went to daily Mass. The minority who remained heathens were, in the agent's opinion, shamefaced in their adherence to the practices of the medicine man.[80]

At Standing Rock Father Stephan—inclined to irascibility when his plans were hampered—had continued to strive against the retention of the military garrison. His sole complaint about the pupils was that soldiers from the fort had bothered some of the girls. This difficulty had been solved by transferring all of the female Indians to the industrial farm school, which was about fifteen miles south of the agency headquarters. Most of the boys were taught farming and dairying, though a few were being trained in shoemaking and tailoring. In addition to the daily classroom exercises, the girls were given practical training by the Benedictine Sisters in the arts of a housewife through washing, cooking, and mending for the male

---

79 *R.S.I., 1880* (Washington, 1880), I, 7. A successful protest against a day school at Devil's Lake Agency was made in ABCIM, Clapin to [Brouillet], Fort Totten, January 28, 1877.

80 *C.I.A., 1880* (Washington, 1880), pp. 28-32; *Annals,* II (July, 1881), 5, 13-16. McLaughlin's requests for approval of the purchase of a loom and spinning wheels are in RBIA, Devil's Lake 1880.

and female departments. Bishop O'Connor thought that the government allowance to the teachers was insufficient, but in any event the work continued apace.[81]

The tenacity with which the Catholics had contended for religious liberty in opposition to all other participants in the Peace Policy was finally justified—and with startling suddenness just when the prospects seemed very dim. As has been noted, in August of 1880 the Indian Office had repeated the ruling of exclusive denominational jurisdiction. Ezra Hayt had originally enunciated this regulation in ordering Father McCarthy to quit the Red Cloud Reserve in May of 1879. The same Commissioner repeated his interpretation of the law the following January. The occasion then had been the entry of a Congregationalist minister into a Catholic reservation being called to his attention by the secretary of that denomination's missionary society. Though Hayt shortly afterwards was forced from his position, a journalist who was acquainted with all the principals found no favorable sentiment toward the Church in the Department of the Interior. In writing to his brother in Massachusetts William Richards said:

> Trowbridge is swallowed by the machine. His Chief Clerk [Edwin J. Brooks] is *the* Office, and he was so to a very great extent under Hayt, with whom he was cheek by jowl. If Trowbridge has the capacity to get the swing of his office, it will take a long time. Nextly, I am satisfied that the whole office is permeated with hostility to the Catholics. The Sec'y [Schurz] himself is one of those German Freethinkers who regard all religion as an absurd outgrowth of Fetishism and unworthy of the attention of an advanced thinker. He said to Bishop O'Connor, who manfully stood up and demanded the rights of Catholics, that it might be well to gratify the wishes of the

---

81 ABCIM, Brouillet to Stephan, Washington, June 7 and August 27, 1880; *C.I.A., 1880,* pp. 51-58. The report on the salaries of the teachers was contained in AAO, O'Connor to the Congregation of the Propaganda, Omaha, September 22, 1880, copy.

Catholic Indians in regard to their religion, as it would be to amuse them with any other bauble![82]

If Richards was accurate in his appraisal, little hope for improvement in the position of Catholic Indian missions could have been rightfully anticipated in the fall of 1880. Nor could any evidence be found of a protest having been made either by the Catholic bureau or the Indian agent about non-compliance with the order for the Protestant missionary to leave Devil's Lake Agency. Nevertheless, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs did order McLaughlin to expel the Congregationalist divine late in 1880. In that one act the wall of opposition to the Catholic contention for religious freedom was broken asunder. In 1873 the Methodists had threatened to withdraw from the government's program if any adjustment of agencies was made in favor of Catholics.[83] No Protestant group had expressed sympathy for the Church when the Benedictine missionary was asked to leave the Ogalala Reserve in 1879, but in this instance it seemed that the advocates of limited evangelization of the Indians had been pierced by their own poniard.

The tenth annual conference of the Board of Indian Commissioners with the representatives of missionary societies opened in the Metropolitan Hotel in New York on January 13, 1881. Almost every gentleman was present who had advised the Indian Commissioner the previous April of his opposition to any alteration in the policy of exclusive religious jurisdiction on all Indian reservations. An abrupt change in sentiment was brought to the surface by the reading of a memorial which the Presbyterians were taking to President Hayes. Therein the delegation asked that "the Indians be granted the same religious liberty which we claim for ourselves; that reservations should be open to all religious societies who sincerely work for

---

[82] AUND, William Richards to [H. L. Richards], Washington, April 29, [18]80. The writer had formerly been editor of the Des Moines *Valley Whig*. The italics are in the original letter.

[83] RBIA, Miscellaneous 1873, E 31, T. M. Eddy to E. P. Smith, New York, June 10, 1873. A summary of the Devil's Lake case was given in *The Work of the Decade*, p. 22.

the elevation of the Indians." The issue having been opened, the remainder of the meeting was devoted to discussing the advisability of the move. No reference was made to the Catholics having always advocated this position. The implication, however, could not be missed in this question to Methodist Agent James Wilbur: "Suppose your principal responsibility centered beyond the seas, and you wrote 'S.J.' after your name. . .?" The representative of the Methodist Episcopal Church did not oppose the adoption of the resolution, but thought that action should be deferred for another year. In this sentiment he was joined by the Society of Friends. Notwithstanding, the motion for removal of restrictions finally was adopted by the assembled delegates. A committee was then appointed to make this action known to the Secretary of the Interior.[84]

This move was not relished by all. This was plainly indicated by a reply which the secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions received in answer to his inquiry to another denomination as to whether the change should be endorsed. James E. Rhodes said frankly that in his estimation the Society of Friends had nothing to gain and all to lose. The reason, as he expressed it, was that "the Romanists may disturb our present miss[ionar]y operations among the Indians."[85] In any case, about a month after the January 13 conference Secretary Schurz advised the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that he had received ten letters from representatives of as many Protestant denominations. These replies were not only unanimous in sentiment but were identical in language. In line with their petition for the rescinding of the previous ruling Schurz stated:

> I am of opinion that their request should be complied with, and instruct that, in future, in all cases except where the presence of rival religious organizations would manifestly be perilous to peace and good order, Indian reserva-

[84] *B.I.C., 1880,* pp. 95-114, contained the minutes of the conference in full.

[85] RBIA, 19983-1913, 816 General Service, Rhodes to John O. Means, Germantown, Philadelphia, January 24, 1881.

tions shall be open to all, provided that no existing treaty stipulations would be violated thereby.[86]

On March 2 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs put into effect the recommendation of his superior officer by notifying the offices of the interested missionary societies that the 1880 ruling of the Indian Office was thereby revoked.[87] The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions and its co-workers had not fought in vain for the religious freedom of the nation's original inhabitants. That the Catholic Indian organization was not a party to the final request may actually have facilitated the answer which it had sought so persistently.

Thus the removal of the barriers to missionaries gave a happy ending to the long struggle by the officers of the Catholic bureau. The government's decision, however, was by no means a panacea for all the problems of the Indian missions. If anything, the greater latitude for evangelization made more acute the financing of the field personnel. In a precarious fashion the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions had managed to be self-supporting, and it had enjoyed an unexpected boon in a legacy of $5,000 from any anonymous benefactor. The money was welcome, and even more pleasing to the officials was that this large sum had been directed to them by Cardinal McCloskey. The donor had designated the money for the benefit of the missions among the red men, leaving it to the judgment of the Archbishop of New York how it should be handled. Without any solicitation the prelate turned the fund over to the bureau free from any restrictions. Unquestionably this was public testimony of his approval of the accomplishments of the past as well as his implied belief that the Washington office was the focal point of this work and its supporting charity.[88]

---

[86] *Ibid.*, Schurz to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, February 17, 1881, also sent the ten letters which he had received; all are in this file.

[87] RBIA, Ed-Schools, 19983-1913, AVS, C. F. Hauke, Acting Commissioner, to Elsie M. Rushmore, Washington, February 21, 1913, gave the date of the original order.

[88] *Annals*, II (July, 1881), 30.

This benefaction was ample by itself to cover for a couple of years the operating expenses of the office in the capital. On the other hand, distributed among all the Catholic missions then in existence it would hardly have been noticed. Those places which had schools supported by the government were able to provide for missionary activities themselves. The converse was true when both education and evangelization had to be supported from private contributions. St. Ann's Mission in Dakota, which Father Malo had opened in 1879, well illustrated the tribulations attending such projects. With the coming of the sisters from Ireland in the spring of 1880 Malo was relieved of his teaching duties. For a short period he tried to raise money by laboriously writing in English "begging letters" to actual and prospective benefactors in the East. In so doing he made the mistake of asking a leader of a Catholic Indian Missionary band to send her collections to him. Upon her inquiring of Brouillet about this, the ire of the director of the bureau was aroused. By no means did the latter condemn or criticize the work which Malo was carrying on. At the same time, however, he made it clear to the lady that only those collections which came through the bureau would be credited to its Indian Fund in the published reports.[89]

Malo's letters soliciting funds had never been very effective even when he had worked in the office of the bureau. Accordingly, leaving the Indian children in the care of the sisters, he came East for a personal tour. The misunderstanding with Brouillet having been adjusted, he was given a letter of recommendation and introduction. As in all cases where the collector was sponsored by the Washington office, Malo was expected to turn in his receipts, with some of them being used for the Indian cause in general, the proportion being a matter of agreement in each case.

Malo did not do as well as he had hoped on this tour because solicitors for Catholic missions in Africa had immediate-

---

89 ABCIM, Mrs. C. M. Boyce to Brouillet, New York, June 8, 1880; Brouillet to Mrs. Boyce, Washington, June 12, 1880, copy.

ly preceded him in New York and Boston, the cities upon which he had relied the most. A summary of the result of the trip may best be given in the priest's own words. He lamented: "I can say frankly that my little collection of $1400 was gone as soon as collected to pay the *bread* and *meat* for summer & winter; and when spring comes I will have to do the same thing over again to support a school." He added that the government had refused to subsidize his establishment, though federal aid had been given to the smaller school of Protestant Episcopal Bishop Hare at Springfield, Dakota Territory. In expressing his gratitude, Malo praised the bureau for "the noble work it has already accomplished for our Indian missions at first as well as in the present time." But something more was needed. This old missionary reported that a number of bishops with whom he had talked on his journey agreed that a uniform system of aiding the field workers would have to be devised.[90]

The missionary collector therefore had found the eastern and mid-western hierarchy aware of the need for concerted action in behalf of the Indians. It happened that the Vicar Apostolic of Dakota Territory already had a plan of his own making for attaining this aim. Martin Marty was convinced that more had to be done. In his own words, "the way in which we have been carrying on our Indian mission till now seems to me a source of disgrace before the world and responsibility before God." His idea for financing an expansion of the effort was new only in that he wanted an annual, and not simply one nationwide collection. But the method of handling the proceeds was original with himself, for the Benedictine proposed that the receipts should go to the archbishops of the country. Then the money would be distributed by them to missionary dioceses on the basis of the Indian population. As a basis he accepted the figures of the number of red men as had been given in the

---

[90] EC, Malo to Ewing, Wheeler, December 18, 1880. Malo said he was writing in pencil because a priest who was helping him "had not buried the ink bottle deep enough in the ground, & the frost has burst it open." Italicized words in the quotation are from the original letter.

1879 report of the Board of Indian Commissioners. There was method in his assembling the statistics, for he wanted his episcopal friend in Omaha to draw up a circular letter to be sent to the missionary hierarchy. These bishops would be asked to join in the national appeal which Marty had in mind.[91]

As always, Bishop O'Connor sent prompt answers, but apparently he was not beguiled by Marty's emphasis upon the honor which would accrue to the Vicar Apostolic of Nebraska by virtue of his writing the circular appeal. Accordingly Bishop Marty, on President James A. Garfield's inaugural day in Washington, sent forth to fifteen missionary bishops his suggestion of an annual collection for the Indian missions. He also requested that they nominate three bishops to form a committee for drafting a petition for help addressed to all the hierarchy. Instead of the archbishops as he had originally suggested, the Benedictine prelate now wanted this committee of bishops to be both the recipient of the proceeds of the collection and the distributor of it to the dioceses having Indian population. In all of his planning it is noteworthy that Marty never referred to the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. He did mention the salary of a commissioner and agent of the bishops in the national capital as the first item of expense to be taken from the collection receipts.[92]

The replies of the bishops which came during March and April varied with the personality of the writer and his contact with the past methods of directing the Indian work. Far to the southwest John B. Salpointe had been struggling alone for many years, and he heartily concurred in the plan to provide him with needed funds. Four days after he had become Coadjutor Archbishop of Milwaukee Michael Heiss favored everything except the essential point, a national collection. The debts of the archdiocese, he said, required a payment of $3,000 annually in interest. He himself was a boarder in the semi-

91 AAO, Marty to [O'Connor], Yankton, January 10 and 18, [18]81.

92 *Ibid.*, same to same, Yankton, March 9, 1881, attached handwritten copy of his circular letter, Marty to 'Rt. Rev. Sir,' Yankton, March 4, 1881.

nary because he had no means to use for living expenses in Milwaukee. Like the Vicar Apostolic of Arizona, Salpointe, Rupert Seidenbusch also approved of the plan because he needed the financial assistance. Another Benedictine bishop, Louis M. Fink of Leavenworth, said the 790 Indians who had been credited to him by Marty were all civilized. Moreover, most of them owned their own farms.

These letters did not constitute very hearty endorsements. From others who had noted the lack of reference to the Catholic bureau approval was even more qualified. For example, Bishop Aegidius Junger of Nesqually emphasized that the proposed method must in no way conflict with the approved and established agency in Washington. South at Oregon City Archbishop Seghers, who had been named to aid the aging Francis Norbert Blanchet, feared that the arrangement suggested would clash both with the Catholic bureau and with the exertions of Archbishop Gibbons of Baltimore.[93] These were mere cautions, however, compared with the outright objections of Father Brouillet. The director of the bureau, who was visiting his old diocese of Nesqually for the first time in six years, was deferential and restrained. The essence of his objections regarding Marty's plan being found in these words:

> . . .it will prove antagonistic to and destructive of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, discourteous in the highest degree to the Most Rev. Archbishop of Baltimore, and will disclose to the Catholic hierarchy a painful and in the eyes of the government unwarranted fickleness.

But he drew from the proposal what in his estimation was good in agreeing about the utility of a national collection. He also thought that the committee of three bishops might well confer with Gibbons concerning methods and means.[94]

---

[93] *Ibid.*, Salpointe to [O'Connor], Tucson, March 27, 1881; Heiss to Marty, St. Francis Station, Wisconsin, March 18, 1881 [in German]; Seidenbusch to Marty, St. Cloud, April 12, 1881; Fink to Marty, Leavenworth, March 10, 1881; Junger to O'Connor, Vancouver, April 21, 1881; Seghers to Marty, Portland, March 31, 1881.

[94] *Ibid.*, Brouillet to Marty, Vancouver, April 6, 1881.

The Dakota bishop, recognizing that the plan as he had set it forth was not winning favor, tried to salvage something. First Marty turned to Brouillet's favorite, the system of small bands employed by the Catholic Indian Missionary Association and the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Then in August, probably at his insistence, Bishop O'Connor called on James Gibbons in Baltimore to discuss the matter personally. The Archbishop of Baltimore did not render a final decision until he had consulted with Cardinal McCloskey and Archbishop Corrigan of New York. Yet he said at once that the plan of the Benedictine would hardly have his concurrence.[95] The two New York prelates promptly agreed that they preferred the views expressed by Father Brouillet, and Gibbons advised the Nebraska bishop to this effect.[96] To the last, Marty had held on to a dwindling hope, for he wrote the missionary bishops in mid-August of his persistence in the scheme.

Though Bishop Marty admitted his disappointment to O'Connor, the failure was not absolute or final.[97] His modified plan of a national collection with part of the proceeds for the use of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith was adopted at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore three years later. However, the prelates there made the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions the agency for handling the funds, much as Brouillet had suggested. And in addition to providing the nucleus for the legislation of the council, Bishop Marty's proposal had another salutary effect. Through his appeal the need of the Indian missions was brought to the immediate attention of members of the hierarchy who otherwise might have overlooked a problem which was foreign to their own jurisdictions. Had it lacked all of these benefits, the movement still would have been valuable in demonstrating that the removal of the restrictions of the federal Indian Office had not thereby taken

---

95 AANY, Gibbons to Corrigan, Baltimore, August 17, 1881.

96 AAB, 75-C-5, Corrigan to Gibbons, New York, August 23, 1881. Gibbons had promised to send this information to O'Connor.

97 AAO, Marty to 'Most Rev. Sir,' Yankton, August 15, 1881; Marty to [O'Connor], Yankton, May 27 and September 9, [18]81.

away every obstacle to the success of Catholic Indian missionaries.

For the time being, then, the plans for a full scale expansion had to be deferred because of lack of sufficient personnel and the financial means of obtaining it. Unfortunately, these were familiar deficiencies for the American Church during the nineteenth century. But while that attempt was being made operations continued at the accustomed pace in the places where Catholic missions had been established. Because of the impossibility of treating all of these worthy but very widespread efforts, the Dakota foundations will serve as an illustration of the others. The familiarity with the principal actors in that field already acquired by the reader has influenced that selection.

The retirement of Father Stephan as agent at Standing Rock, for which arrangements had been tentatively made in the spring of 1880, had been deferred when he recovered his strength. But another icy winter in Dakota and the disabilities incurred during his army service in the Civil War brought a final decision by the ex-chaplain to give up his post. Though he had been an excellent administrator, his retirement may have been to the advantage of affairs at the reservation. Stephan had an understanding of the Indians, continually complimenting them to others on their gradual advance toward civilization. But he had been at odds with the military post because of his conviction that the soldiers were a bad influence on the impressionable aborigines. As time went by, he came to squabble more and more with the Benedictines, too. The agent, impatient by nature, probably had become accustomed to unquestioning obedience from his military training in Germany and later in the Union forces. His relations with Marty were good and he had a great respect for the bishop's ability, but with Father Jerome and the Benedictine brothers he became increasingly critical. There was no evidence that he ever reported their conduct or methods to the Department of the Interior. To the Catholic bureau, however, he criticized bitterly such matters as their crop failures or their ineptness in building.

For his part Father Jerome continued to use his salary as a government teacher for the welfare of his charges, or at least to pay for the mistakes which had been made at the farm school while he was in charge. His expostulations to Brouillet were rather plaintive, as he contended more that Stephan was not perfect himself than that the agent was wrong in his reports of poor management. Since he knew that Stephan was leaving the agency, Bishop Marty must have agreed that conditions could be improved. Anyway, in June he replaced Jerome at the industrial farm with Father Chrysostom Foffa.

It will be remembered that Chrysostom had been the first priest to join Marty at Standing Rock in the fall of 1876. After more than a year of service there he had turned to parish work in the frontier town of Bismarck because of lack of agreement with his superior. Upon his return in 1881 he was found to have retained his critical attitude toward Marty and also regarding Fintan Mundwiler, who had succeeded Marty as Abbot of St. Meinrad's Abbey. On the other hand, he was regarded by everyone as an efficient administrator. Moreover, he was more appreciative of the services of the Catholic bureau than had been some of his confreres. This friendliness was to prove advantageous to him when another delay in the receipt of the quarterly payment from the government threatened to cause a great loss at the school farm because of lack of supplies for winter. Brouillet had gone to Standing Rock to accelerate the construction of another school building for which he had obtained authorization. Seeing Foffa's difficulty at first hand, he requested the bureau's board of control to approve an advance of $525 until the treasury draft arrived. As Chrysostom repaid the loan at the end of the year he was recovering from an attack of quinsy. Censorious as ever of his Benedictine superiors, he said in his somewhat uncertain English, "no wonder, that under such undescribable troubles as I had to endure during the first five months of my administration even the most powerful frame was shaken." Nevertheless, he found prospects bright for the coming year, with the

Indian pupils making fine progress and a new building at the farm to house 160 of them.[98]

In the transfer of agents both Stephan and McLaughlin put their personal interests secondary to the welfare of the Indians and the Catholic bureau. Stephan filed his resignation with Ewing with the understanding that it would not be presented to the Department of the Interior until his successor was qualified. Thus he forestalled any interim appointee disrupting the comparatively smooth conduct of affairs at the agency. Then he agreed to remain until the close of the government's fiscal year in order to prevent any damage to the Indians' crops during planting time.[99] McLaughlin, for his part, deferred leaving Devil's Lake until some faulty scales there had been corrected. These scales were used to weigh the beef cattle which were allotted to the Indians, and the agent wanted to be certain that his charges would not be defrauded after he left them. Because of his impending departure McLaughlin filed his annual report prior to the usual date. It was his last official communication after ten years of service at the northern Dakota reserve. He had experienced no trouble with the nineteen white people, including priests and sisters, who were under his supervision there. He was especially laudatory of the industrial school, which was operated by the Grey Nuns under Brouillet's contract with the Indian Office. The aim of civilizing the Indians was thereby being achieved, for in an excerpt from the official record it was stated: "This school, a model of order and neatness, is a powerful civilizer. . . The religious train-

98 ABCIM, Foffa to Brouillet, Standing Rock, August 9, 1881; Brouillet to Lusk, Standing Rock, September 22, 1881; Lusk to Brouillet, Washington, October 8, 1881, copy; Foffa to Brouillet, Standing Rock, December 17, 1881.

99 *Ibid.*, Lusk to Stephan, Washington, March 28, 1881, copy; Stephan to Ewing, Standing Rock, March 31, 1881; Ewing to S[amuel] J. Kirkwood, Washington, May 16, 1881, copy; Brouillet to Kirkwood, Washington, June 6, 1881, copy.

ing and example shown exert a wholesome influence over all."[100]

Necessarily not all of Bishop Marty's attention could be devoted to the affairs of the red men, now that the Vicariate of Dakota had been committed to his charge. Yet business concerning the Indian must have taken a major portion of his time in this year 1881. Already there have been noted the thought and energy he had given to promoting a stable financial basis for the Catholic missions of the entire nation. His supervision was expected—and forthcoming—for the Indian establishments within his own territory. And during the summer of 1881 a termination finally was reached to his long quest for the return to the United States of the recalcitrant warrior, Sitting Bull. Since Marty's second mission to the Canadian encampment in the fall of 1879 there were frequent reports on the hostile Sioux in the daily press. These news items furnished almost daily witness to the unflagging interest of the American people in the band led by the most troublesome member of that Indian nation. Nearly every account of the surrender of a party or of a few stragglers was accompanied by the prediction that the fearsome chief himself would soon be seeking sanctuary. Sometimes, however, the sullen silentness of prisoners aroused fear of blood again running red in a new outbreak.[101] Even on trips President Hayes kept in close touch with developments, sending instructions for the handling of what had become an international problem because of these hostiles being in what today is the Province of Alberta.[102] Marty's recommendation of easier surrender terms had not been heeded, and the demand

---

100 *Ibid.*, Brouillet to McLaughlin, Washington, July 14, 1881, copy; McLaughlin, *My Friend the Indian*, p. 30; *C.I.A., 1881* (Washington, 1881), pp. 33-35. Schier, in "Indian Missions in North Dakota," p. 32, gave the names and ages of the white residents at Devil's Lake Agency according to the United States census for 1880.

101 New York *Times*, June 16, August 20, August 24, and September 11, 1880.

102 LC, Schurz Papers, R B. Hayes to Schurz, Carson, Nevada, September 9, 1880. The President advised that he had also sent instructions to William M. Evarts, Secretary of State, to "make proper representations to the British authorities."

of the Indian Bureau for unconditional surrender did not readily lure fighting men who possessed both arms and the freedom to use them.

The break in the adamant attitude of Sitting Bull actually was forecast by the surrender of one of his major chiefs, named Gall, in the last days of 1880.[103] For another winter the remnant of the victors in the battle of the Little Big Horn held out in the north, and then they, too, returned to their native soil. By mid-June Marty said that all of the chief's warriors had gone to Standing Rock Reservation, and in the following month Sitting Bull surrendered and followed them to the same reserve.[104] As a captive the chief looked woebegone rather than menacing or fearful. Nevertheless, he was promptly stripped of his weapons and ponies, and eastern newspapers persistently warned of the danger of fresh massacres. McLaughlin, who came to know him well in succeeding years, saw Sitting Bull for the first time the day he arrived at Standing Rock to take over the agency. The erstwhile leader and his followers were being loaded on the steamer *General Sherman,* and from there they were taken south to Fort Randall to be held as prisoners of war.[105]

While the hostiles were at Standing Rock Father Chrysostom found all of them, and especially Sitting Bull, very friendly to himself and the other Benedictines. Marty was happy over their return, saying that he hoped other projects which were foreboding would turn out as well as had his missions to bring them back. As over a year had elapsed since the last visit of the then Abbot Martin to the Canadian camp, little credit was given him at the time of the actual surrender. But a Benedictine historian has pointed out that Marty never sought praise

---

103 *C.I.A., 1880,* pp. xlvii-xlviii, stated that in accord with the President's order of June 25, 1880, Sitting Bull and his Sioux would be permitted to return only if they submitted as prisoners of war, retaining nothing. Cf. New York *Times,* November 13, December 1, and December 30, 1880.

104 AAO, Marty to O'Connor, Omaha, June 14, 1881. O'Connor was then in the East. Cf. New York *Times,* June 3 and 14; July 21, 22, and 30; August 1, 1881.

105 McLaughlin, *op. cit.,* pp. 180, 182-183; *R.S.I., 1881* (Washington, 1881), I, xiii. Cf. New York *Times,* August 3, 16, and 23, 1881.

by dramatizing his actions. At the time of the chief's return the bishop did write to his mother abbey in Switzerland that in coming back to the United States Sitting Bull had acted upon the advice he had given him during his visits to the exile's camp in Canada.[106] Though crafty and mendacious, the chief had a wily intelligence, and he had readily recognized the Benedictine superior as a man who had in his heart the welfare of the Indian. But in captivity he was quickly disparged by those who had spoken of him with awe, one comment being that Sitting Bull was more intelligent than other Indians, "but that is not saying much." Despite his obvious preference for DeSmet, Marty, and other "black robes" it was impossible for Sitting Bull to have been accepted by the Church because of his bigamous marital relations.[107]

While Bishop Marty had tried and temporarily failed to promote a national collection for the Indian missions, Brouillet fostered on a smaller scale the support of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. A list of contributors in the July, 1881, edition of the *Annals* included donations from friends of the organization who were separated not only by thousands of miles but also by different levels of the social order. For instance, several fairly substantial offerings had come from Viscount René de Semaille of Versailles, France. These were enumerated together with contributions of $1.00 from veterans living in the Old Soldiers' Home in northeast Washington, D. C. As was always the case, the magazine and its contents pleased those who were sympathetic with the aims of the Washington office, one newspaper having expressed the opinion that its readers "are blessed with this most excellent Bureau of Indian Mis-

---

106 Archives of Einsiedeln Abbey, M 95 2.8.1881, Marty to Frater Dekan, Latrobe, Pennsylvania, August 2, 1881, from a copy in possession of Albert Kleber, O.S.B., whose estimate of Marty's reticence over his accomplishment also was used; Kleber to the writer, St. Meinrad, Indiana, December 18, 1951, and January 26, 1952.

107 New York *Herald,* October 6, 1883. New York *Times,* September 28 and October 7, 1883, editorialized on Sitting Bull's entrance into the Catholic Church being delayed by his bigamy.

sions."[108] Brouillet employed the *Annals* to promote financial help, for he sent a copy together with a letter of solicitation to every donor enumerated in the first issue of the publication more than four years before. It also served as an occasion for writing to Mrs. Madeline Vinton Dahlgren to rekindle the zeal she had shown as the first president of the capital's unit of the Catholic Indian Missionary Association.[109]

To join one of the bands of the Missionary Association was the initial suggestion which the bureau's director made to an ex-army major who volunteered to help in the work. Eight months to the day this Charles S. Jones was appointed treasurer of the organization as the successor of the deceased Father Barotti. Immediately thereafter articles of incorporation were taken out for the bureau, Jones being a member of the first board of trustees together with Ewing and Brouillet. The primary purpose of this move may have been the formation of a legal person which could be the beneficiary of legacies. An appeal was soon made that the bureau be remembered in charitable wills in conjunction with the announcement of the formation of the corporation.[110] It was certainly not intended to obviate the existence of a board of control, which still supervised the accounts of the bureau and authorized its expenditures. As called for by its charter, the lay members of this board were not named by the officials of the Washington office. Instead they received their appointments directly from the Archbishop of Baltimore.[111]

---

[108] *Annals,* II (July, 1881), 25-27. Cf. *Western Watchman* (St. Louis), July 23, 1881; in addition it reprinted a laudatory item from the *Catholic Telegraph.*

[109] ABCIM, Brouillet to B. D. Murphy, Washington, July 12, 1881, copy, was one of many of these letters; Brouillet to Mrs. Admiral Dahlgren, Washington, July 19, 1881, copy.

[110] *Ibid.,* Brouillet to Jones, Washington, November 11, 1880, copy. Cf. *The Work of the Decade,* pp. 7-10. The original articles of incorporation were not found, but AAB, 93-G-9/2 has official papers dated March 20, 1894.

[111] EC, *Charter for the Control of the Catholic Indian Mission Fund,* authorized May 30, 1876, and amended February 20, 1878. ABCIM, John T. Lenman was appointed to the board by Archbishop Gibbons in a document dated at Baltimore on January 28, 1889, and forwarded, Brouillet to Lenman, Washington, January 31, 1880, both copies.

During this period in which both the structural organization and the methods pursued by the Catholic bureau remained essentially the same, the government's program veered back and forth. In his first years in office Secretary Schurz had favored consolidation of the lands allotted to the red men. An obvious difficulty was that the living standards of white people were not yet feasible for a race which was still largely nomadic. In his last annual report as a cabinet officer Schurz granted that large scale removals were a mistake. It had been discovered that it was much better to leave the Indian in his native surroundings.[112] Samuel J. Kirkwood, who succeeded Schurz as head of the Department of the Interior, swung to the opposite pole in recommending that all redskins west of the Mississippi River be gathered on four or five giant reserves. Strangely, his predecessor, instead of criticizing the reversal of the policy which he had last advocated, joined Kirkwood by writing a magazine article in support of the idea.[113] More on the moral ground that the defenseless aborigines were being deprived of their rightful possessions, John Gilmary Shea, the Catholic historian, condemned both the removal and the reservation policy. But, he too, lacked any practical substitute for the conditions then existing. One commentator has since expressed his belief that Shea was motivated by the hope that the transfer of the control of the Indians to local authority would improve the status of the Church over what it had until then enjoyed under the federal government.[114]

The truth was that by 1881 not only had a mitigated religious liberty been granted on Indian reservations, but the Peace Policy itself was fast drawing to a close. It is difficult to select a precise date for the exact beginning of its abandonment. It is certain that from the close of President Grant's second term adherence to it became more and more nominal.

---

112 New York *Times,* December 2, 1880. Cf. Priest, *op. cit.,* pp. 12-13.

113 *R.S.I., 1881,* I, vi; Schurz, "Present Aspects of the Indian Problem," in the *North American Review,* CXXXIII (July, 1881), 1-24.

114 Shea, "What Right Has the Federal Government to Mismanage the Indians?," *American Catholic Quarterly Review,* VI (July, 1881), 520-541; cf. Priest, *op. cit.,* p. 129.

Many reasons for its gradual nullification might be assigned with plausible accuracy, but the motivating cause was the desire of politicians to regain the patronage of naming Indian agents. While the more frequent refusals by the Senate to confirm the nominations by religious groups for these posts indicated the trend, at no time was a rule or agreement violated which could have been made a public issue. Notice previously has been drawn to the resignation in 1879 of the Society of Friends from the government's program, although several years passed before the Quakers relinquished control of the last of the agencies which they had held. General Ewing had not responded to the invitation to attend the annual joint meeting of the Indian commissioners and the missionary representatives in January, 1881.[115] But while often protesting against the manner in which the Peace Policy was administered, the Catholics had never talked of withdrawing. During this conference a general collapse of the participation by the Protestant denominations appeared imminent, but the representatives present at last were palliated by fresh promises from the President and the Secretary of the Interior.

It has been said that James A. Garfield, after his election as the twentieth President in the fall of 1880, indicated that he was adverse to the Peace Policy. In his brief tenure as chief executive—the second shortest in American history—it was claimed that no agents were nominated by religious societies and that his cabinet officer, Kirkwood, promised to do no more than consult them. Though this statement has gone unchallenged, it will be remembered that in these months the Catholic bureau nominated James McLaughlin and John W. Cramsie for the two Dakota agencies, both being confirmed. Moreover, the one report the Board of Indian Commissioners issued during this period contained words of encouragement to the religious societies from Secretary Kirkwood. Nevertheless, during the annual joint conference of January, 1882, the Reverend Rush R. Shippen of the American Unitarian Association joined

[115] ABCIM, E[liphalet] Whittlesey to Ewing, Washington, December 13, 1880.

Congregationalist M. E. Strieby in voicing expressions of dissatisfaction with the federal Indian program. The convention adopted a resolution asking that the Peace Policy not be abandoned, without, however, adopting any program of positive action to enhance its value.[116]

Garfield had died the previous September 19 from the effects of a bullet wound inflicted on July 2, 1881, as the President walked into the old Baltimore & Potomac Railroad depot in Washington. After a due interval the former Vice-President, Chester A. Arthur, made his own cabinet appointments. Among them was his selection of the first senator from Colorado, Henry M. Teller, to take over the Department of the Interior. Teller, famous later as a Republican advocate of the free coinage of silver, had been classed among the members of the upper legislative chamber who advocated greater congressional control over the Indians. In effect, this meant the abandonment of the practice of agents being selected by religious societies. Though commentators have placed the termination of the Peace Policy as late as 1885, an examination of the record demonstrates that the door was definitely closed on the program by this Secretary of the Interior in the summer of 1882. The fact was clearly recognized then by leaders of the Catholic Indian mission endeavor.[117]

In June of that year the Methodists had sent to Teller the name of their nominee for the agency at Ypsilanti, Michigan, to replace an agent who had died. Another man was given the post, and when this was followed by the appointment of Robert H. Milroy to the reserve at Yakima, Washington, without any consultation with the missionary board of that church, its secretary filed a long protest. The head of the Department of the Interior gave a prompt and definitive answer, in no sense avoiding the issue which had been raised. In his opinion there was

116 Priest, *op. cit.*, p. 38, was of the opinion that both President-elect Garfield and Schurz wanted the nomination of agents by religious groups stopped; cf. *B.I.C., 1881*, pp. 6, 84-88, 90-92.

117 Priest, *op. cit.*, p. 243; Kelsey, *op. cit.*, p. 198. The latter contended that Grant's policy did not end until the beginning of Cleveland's first administration.

no more reason for religious groups having control of the Indian agents than of any other official of the government. Since the position called for business and administrative talent, Teller said that goodness of heart was not a sufficient qualification in itself. Replying to the remonstrance against the violation of the Peace Policy, the Secretary declared: "I do not know what you mean by the peace policy of the government."[118]

While he did not again mention the program by name, in his annual report Teller condemned the previous attempt to civilize the Indians as a failure. A final and conclusive acknowledgment of the death and burial of the plan instituted by Ulysses Grant could be found by comparing the lists of agency assignments in the official reports for 1881 and 1882. True, there was little change in the classification of the reservations. But instead of the customary statement that the Indians so grouped had been allotted to the various missionary societies, a highly significant word had been added to the title: "List of Indian Agencies *Formerly* Assigned to the several Religious Denominations."[119] So the historian certainly was guilty of no overstatement who twenty years later said: "It was conclusively proved that Secretary Teller had virtually discontinued the policy inaugurated by Gen. Grant."[120]

That two of the principal actors in the sector of the Catholic mission field we have been watching recognized at once the demise of the Peace Policy was recorded at the time. Bishop O'Connor, it will be remembered, had journeyed east in the summer of 1881. The purpose of his trip was a more vigorous effort at christianizing the red men, once the artificial barriers imposed by the Indian Office had been removed. Newspaper correspondents quoted him as saying that he believed President Garfield would reverse the policy of the administrations of Grant and Hayes, but before his expectation could

118 *B.I.C., 1882,* pp. 52-54, printed letters, J. M. Reid to H. M. Teller, New York, July 31, 1882, and Teller to Reid, Washington, August 5, 1882.

119 *R.S.I., 1882,* (Washington, 1882), I, xiv; *C.I.A., 1882* (Washington, 1882), p. 367. The italics are the writer's.

120 C[harles] V. Anthony, *Fifty Years of Methodism* (San Francisco, 1901), p. 328.

be verified the Ohioan had been summarily removed from office by the pistol of an assassin.[121] The next summer O'Connor returned to the Atlantic seaboard, and in the course of his trip he had a satisfying interview with President Arthur. The chief executive also gave a strong recommendation of the Catholic Indian work to Secretary Teller. In reporting the visit to his secretary in Omaha the bishop said definitively: "The 'Grant Policy' has been abandoned by the Department [of the Interior]."[122]

A couple of days before this Brouillet had secured a broader interpretation of the ruling Schurz had made about the reservations being open to all denominations. He had these official advices from the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs printed for the information of all Catholic missionaries. To the transcription of the letter from this Hiram Price the director added an offer to handle any business in the capital for those to whom the notice was sent. As a final guide to those laboring in the mission fields Brouillet offered this advice: "In our future dealings with the Indian Department it should be borne in mind that President Grant's Indian Peace Policy has been abandoned." This conclusive statement was sent from Washington on August 7, 1882, by the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions.[123]

The definite termination of the Peace Policy, even in name, by Secretary Teller brought that phase of the story of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions to a turning point. And it also marked the gradual withdrawal of many of the participating denominations from Indian work. That the officials of the Washington office could have then been looking forward—

---

121 *Western Watchman* (St. Louis), August 6, 1881, reprinted an article entitled, "Priests for the Indians," from the Philadelphia *Times,* in which O'Connor was quoted.

122 AAO, O'Connor to [Reverend] A[ugustine] M. Colaneri, New York, August 4, 1882.

123 EC, printed leaflet contained unaddressed announcement by Brouillet, Washington, August 7, 1882, in which was reproduced a letter from H[iram] Price to Brouillet, Washington, August 2, 1882. Brouillet sent a copy of the leaflet to Omaha; AAO, Brouillet to O'Connor, Washington, August 15, 1882. Price removed all restrictions on the entry of any missionary to any reservation on October 13, 1883; *The Work of the Decade,* p. 22.

and not backward—to a still more vigorous apostolate in this field was a favorable omen for the organization which exists in all its strength today. During the period then closing the bureau had been criticized severely by some Catholic leaders for its co-operation with the Indian Office, despite its having been the "ugly duckling" among the missionary societies in the eyes of that federal agency. That concurrence had been justified by the working agreement which had been maintained with the Department of the Interior and its Indian Bureau, all to the ultimate advantage of the Church. Rightly did the officers glory in being able to state a couple of years later that the Catholic bureau had always tried to carry out fully and cordially the government's program for the benefit of the red men.

This patriotic effort to co-operate with the government for the benefit of an unheeded segment of the nation's inhabitants was but one factor in the development of the Church's agency for Indians. The organization had been a child of necessity, born in an hour when the existence of Catholic missions appeared to be threatened. Concern for the spiritual welfare of the aborigines had never been perfunctory among representativs of the Church, and the Indians were not being neglected when the Peace Policy was proposed. In the first days of the Republic Bishop Carroll had called the attention of President Washington to the determination of Catholics to give the word of God to a race which in general had had no opportunity of knowing Christianity. In the succeeding eighty years Catholic missionaries had been celebrated for their devotion to their charges, with Father DeSmet the most outstanding.

At the time the Peace Policy had been inaugurated many of the Catholic hierarchy had been absent from the country for the Vatican Council in Rome. In any case the full implication of the government's entry into the field of private charity and care had not been grasped immediately. While undoubtedly more could be done for the Indian with the aid of federal funds, inherent rights such as that of religious liberty could not be sacrificed. Rather they had to be proclaimed from the house

tops. The Blanchet brothers were among the first members of the hierarchy to recognize that positive action was necessary. Unfortunately for the complete success of their efforts, the Archbishop of Oregon City and his brother were far removed from the national capital. Then, too, the territory over which they had jurisdiction was small in population. Both of these circumstances were handicaps for attracting an attentive ear from politicians.

For the origination and evolution of what came to be the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions the first credit was due to Father Brouillet. He had realized the need for a focal point of Catholic missionary efforts even before the Peace Policy was proposed. But without that participation in Indian work by the government the usefulness of a Catholic center in the capital would have been unquestioned. Remarkable foresight need not be attributed to the priest. It would be safer to say that in his own mind there had been a progression from joining with Father Deshon in seeking an approved representative to the urging of General Ewing to have a permanent agency authorized by Archbishop Bayley. Both Brouillet and Ewing learned the utility of such an office from the benefits which the Protestant groups were already deriving from their own official societies for handling Indian mission affairs.

Because the hierarchy in general for a long time remained unconvinced, the office in Washington might have gone no further than Brouillet's mind had Charles Ewing not volunteered his services. Inasmuch as he worked entirely without personal compensation, his undertaking the task was a unique contribution to his Church by a Catholic layman. Providentially the general not only had a generous heart, but he was gifted with legal knowledge and the personal influence which came from his family name and his army service during the Civil War. Since Ewing and Brouillet could not have acted without the proper authorization, it was Archbishop Bayley who deserved acclaim for having empowered them to represent the Church's Indian interests. Probably because of his total unfamiliarity with the needs of the redskins and the missions for

them, the archbishop had moved slowly and hesitantly. Nevertheless, the existence of the Catholic commissioner's office and its successor, the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, was due to the decision which Bayley made in the last days of 1873. Inasmuch as its product has endured more than three-quarters of a century, the long-considered approval by the archbishop should be regarded as prudent rather than overly cautious.

The bureau having evolved in response to mounting needs instead of according to a preconceived plan, proper provision had not been made for its financial support. The expenses for its own operation never amounted to $2,500 annually throughout the life of the Peace Policy. Yet in the first years the income from all sources was insufficient to meet this restricted outlay. Popular appeal must have been hindered by the tangible results of its work being far off in mission territory. Those frontier districts were themselves ever in need of outside support rather than being able to provide it for the bureau. Other than the officers of the organization, Ellen Ewing Sherman was responsible for weathering this economic crisis. This lady injected life and vigor into Father Brouillet's idea of bands of people making small donations to the mission work. While the full possibilities of this plan were never realized, the Catholic Indian Missionary Association supplied the means which kept the Washington office open in the dark days of its greatest need.

To its bitter critics during this period the Catholic bureau really was indebted for preventing grave mistakes. The careful supervision and control of income and expenditures probably would never have been instituted had not the pages of the *Freeman's Journal* served as a harsh reflection on every move in the Washington office. Rashness and imprudence were prohibited simply by fear of the castigation which the editor was certain to inflict in full view of the entire nation. James A. McMaster had claimed that three-fourths of the Catholic newspapers in the United States were "blowing the Bureau's horn," which was probably an exaggeration. In addition to the friendly articles in the press an attempt was made to enlist popular

support by lectures and its own publication, the *Annals*. However, none nor all together were entirely successful in that aim.

In the writings of Ewing the point was made that the purpose of the bureau was to act as the intermediary between the Catholic hierarchy and missionaries on the one hand, and the departments of the federal government on the other. Nothing was propounded about raising funds for the individual Indian missions, except that any surplus income received by the Washington office would be distributed to the men in the field. Had this intention been given greater emphasis much misunderstanding would have been avoided. Not only did critics such as McMaster hammer the failure of the bureau to support missions, but some ecclesiastics like Marty expected money which the Catholic commissioner never had to give. However, Brouillet probably had the proper attitude in regarding some of the critical comments by the Benedictine as nothing more than the remarks of a man who was exasperated at his own temporary inability to solve all his problems. Taking Marty and O'Connor as examples of the legion of Catholic leaders and missionaries, their interdependence with the officials of the bureau was apparent in the labor for Indian betterment.

In this over-all review of the achievements and disappointments of the Catholic bureau no reference has been made to a repeated insistence of Ewing's during his first days in office. Then he sought an additional thirty-eight or more agencies to which he claimed the Church was entitled. What progress was made in attaining that self-proclaimed objective? Absolutely none! As the years went by less and less was said by the officers about this aim of the bureau. The fact remains that at the end of the Peace Policy Catholics had exactly the same number of agencies as in the beginning, except for one lost through consolidation. Judged solely on that basis, all of the striving and straining had been in vain. Without attempting to minimize the ill-success of that quest, those familiar with the Catholic Church in modern times will recognize that in any undertaking involving people the emphasis has always been placed on the training of youth. That feature was not over-

looked in the Catholic Indian missions. The worth of the bureau may be better appreciated from a more detailed examination of the results achieved in that field under the Peace Policy.

Throughout this period the bureau had strongly favored boarding schools for Indian children. The preference was based on Brouillet's own experience as an Indian missionary and the information received from those who were then in the field. Among these desirable attributes were better attendance, no time lost by pupils in going to widely separated homes, the removal of the youngster for a time from an uncivilized atmosphere, and the opportunity of training the girls especially in the domestic arts. When General Ewing undertook the representation of the Church in 1873 three boarding schools were being conducted by Catholics, all in the far Northwest. The average attendance was a total of seventy-six pupils, and the government appropriated $7,100 for their maintenance and instruction. In the summer of 1882 seventeen boarding schools were under Catholic auspices, in which an average of 505 pupils were cared for and taught. Mostly through the bureau, the sisters, priests, or brothers who operated the institutions received a total of $53,000 from federal funds.[124] This appropriation was exclusive of the day schools which were maintained where boarding schools had not been authorized, or as was the case at Tulalip Agency in Washington Territory, where three day-schools supplemented the central boarding establishment.[125] In this multiplication rather than addition of opportunities for teaching—far in excess of the agencies allotted to the Church—lay the principal achievement of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Misions during these years.

Though it might have been an argument for the value of the Washington office, a merely statistical increase would have

124 EC, Memoranda printed by the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions and dated at Washington, August 7, 1882. Anson Phelps Stokes credited the bureau with most of the government benefits received by Catholics under Grant's Peace Policy, and subsequent to it; *Church and State in the United States,* II, 288.

125 RBIA, Miscellaneous 1880, B 282, Brouillet to Trowbridge, Washington, April 21, 1880, applied for renewal of contract covering the three day-schools at Tulalip.

meant nothing toward the purpose of the zealous work in the nation's capital and on the Indian reservations. Benefiting the red men through teaching them the truths of Christianity and the arts of civilization was the aim of the Catholic missionaries. The attainment of this goal more easily accounted for the enlistment in the government's program. After his trip to the Northwest in 1881 Brouillet said that the development of the children of the red race in the schools he had visited "gives me," to quote his own words, "the greatest hope for the future of our Indian youth." However, the director of the bureau would be expected to take a favorable view, so of greater importance was the statement from Inspector William J. Pollock. This official, who had been the first agent at the Spotted Tail Reserve in 1878, visited all the Indian schools after his promotion to the higher position. In his official report Pollock declared that of all the institutions he visited those taught by the Sisters of Charity were by far the best.[126]

Shortly thereafter another flattering report came from an observer outside of Catholic missionary circles. The Montana correspondent for the Chicago *Times* said that the redskin students at the St. Ignatius Mission in Montana were better trained than many white children of comparable age. He praised highly the Jesuits and the Sisters who were caring for the boys and girls there.[127] Missionary bishops were fully aware of the splendid work of these teachers. Hence it was easy to appreciate the concern of Bishop Junger in asking Brouillet to do everything possible to keep the sisters at the Tulalip Agency when he heard a rumor that they might be replaced.[128] Both Archbishop Blanchet and the predecessor of Junger, Bishop Blanchet, were then in retirement. Their last years must have been gladdened by the knowledge that the

---

126 ABCIM, Brouillet to Mrs. Admiral Dahlgren, Washington, July 19, 1881, copy. He explained that Pollock had used "Sisters of Charity" for all congregations of Catholic sisters.

127 *Western Watchman* (St. Louis), September 10, 1881, reprinted this dispatch.

128 AAS, Junger to Brouillet, Vancouver, May 13, 1882, copy.

work they had initiated in the Northwest had prospered so fruitfully.

Unfortunately conditions were not so happy at the two reservations of the Sioux where Marty had been prevented from establishing schools in 1879. At the Ogalala reserve of Pine Ridge Agent McGillycuddy in his annual report stated that the Protestant Episcopal missionary had left and the work of that group had been suspended.[129] Whether or not one was a consequence of the other, the following year there was a disturbance against the agent on this reserve, with Chief Red Cloud uttering foreboding threats.[130] Directly to the east the agent at Rosebud Reservation reported that the Protestant missionary was still on hand, but progress was being greatly retarded by the total lack of educational effort among the Brulé Sioux.[131] Though the skirmish of 1879 had been lost, in reality the success of the bureau's long war for religious freedom for both Indians and missionaries was there determined. From the application of the same ruling which had been used to exclude Father Meinrad McCarthy from giving spiritual attention to the bands of Red Cloud came the eventual breakup of a mistaken policy which again would have made the United States part slave and part free.

Tribulations had been many and disappointment had been the end of several of the objectives which had been discussed so optimistically in 1873. Notwithstanding, it was on the solid foundation of the success of Catholic Indian schools and the unswerving promotion of religious liberty in them that the principal accomplishments of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions rested for the years of the Peace Policy. The continuation by this organization of the work in behalf of the Indian awaits another—and, we hope, a highly interesting and successful—telling.

---

129 *C.I.A., 1881,* pp. 44-50.

130 New York *Times,* August 18, August 29, and September 4, 1882.

131 *C.I.A., 1881,* pp. 50-55, printed letter of John Cook to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Rosebud Agency, September 1, 1881. Cook thought a school was essential, if any progress was to be expected in civilizing the Indians.

CHAPTER VIII

EPILOGUE

The termination of President Grant's Peace Policy marked the intended limit of the history of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions in the years covered. But since attention has been directed toward figures outstanding in the Catholic Indian mission work, a brief sketch of the remainder of their lives will be presented in these few pages. Moreover, no permanent solution had yet been devised for the financing of the Catholic bureau. The principal features, then, will be given of the plan devised by the hierarchy for the regularized support of the organization.

Less than a year after the Secretary of the Interior had declared that the Peace Policy had definitely been abandoned, the youngest of the principal actors in the Indian mission drama was called to an early death. During the winter and spring of 1883 practically the whole load of the Washington office was borne by Charles Ewing because of the illness of Father Brouillet. When the general himself became ill in June it was at first ascribed simply to weariness. This time, however, the commissioner failed to rally, and the end of his earthly life came early on Wednesday morning, June 20. His sister Ellen (the wife of General William T. Sherman), who at fifty-nine was more than ten years his senior, has left this account of his death in her diary:

> Dear Charley breathed his last at 15 minutes before 2 a.m. Mr. Lusk and I alone with him; each holding a dear hand.
>
> Gen. Tom [Ewing], Dr. [Lewis] Wolfley, Col. [Hampton] Denman & Dr. [Tullio S.] Verdi came immediately & I took a cab I had had standing at the door & drove home desolate at heart.[1]

[1] Ellen Ewing Sherman, Diary, June 20, 1883. The diary is in the possession of Mrs. Sherman's granddaughter, Miss Eleanor Sherman Fitch, New York City. Cf. New York *Times*, June 21, 22, and 23, 1883, for newspaper reports of Ewing's death.

That Charles Ewing had truly made a sacrifice of his talents and time for the advancement of the Indians has been amply confirmed by a letter written the next year to the Coadjutor Archbishop of New York. Michael A. Corrigan was asked to speak to President Chester A. Arthur or to the Secretary of State in behalf of General Ewing's widow. The hope was that she might be given a job doing some writing or copying for the government as a support for her seven small children. The general had been exemplary as a devoted husband and father. But, according to the Jesuit who made the appeal, Ewing had been taken in death before he had made provision for them. As a consequence, to quote the words of this priest: ". . .they have nothing now but the memory of his goodness and the interest of the friends he won for them."[2] The family crisis was happily surmounted, but the record remains of the man's unselfish devotion to the cause of the Indian.

Ewing had been the grandson of a veteran of Valley Forge and had been named for an uncle who had been Chief Justice of the State of New Jersey. In addition to his distinguished family name, his legal talent, and his fine record of service in the Union army from 1861 to 1865, he was blessed with a winning personality. In a moment of exasperation Father Brouillet had written to him this tribute: "I am not angry at you; who could be angry at such a good nature as yours; you would laugh me out and I would be ashamed of myself."[3] After Ewing's death General Sherman's son declared that his uncle had "carried sunshine with him."[4] Fitting recognition of the attorney's contributions to his country and to his Church was given by Monsignor Peter Guilday a half-century later. This

2 AANY, John J. Murphy, S.J., to [Corrigan], Washington, September 18, 1884. Except for the eldest daughter who had died in infancy, all of Ewing's eight children are now living. One instance of the general's solicitude for his family, even when he was away from home, may be seen in a letter in the possession of his son, John K. M. Ewing; Charles [Ewing] to My Darling [Mrs. Ewing], Santa Fé, November 26, 1881. For meaning of symbols, cf. "Abbreviations used in Footnotes."

3 EC, Brouillet to [Ewing], Washington, September 5, 1873. Ewing was then at Berkley Springs, West Virginia.

4 [Thomas E. Sherman, S.J.], *In Memoriam. Charles Ewing* (Philadelphia, 1888), p. 103.

church historian delivered the discourse on the occasion of the reinterment, with full military honors, of Ewing's body in the Arlington National Cemetery, across the Potomac River from the capital in which the general had striven for his Indian fellow-countrymen.[5]

The extra burden which had been imposed upon General Ewing by the illness of Father Brouillet may then have brought about the premature death of the Catholic commissioner at the age of forty-eight. The priest himself had been stricken as he persisted in his lifelong labors for the red men. In October of 1882 he had traveled to Dakota Territory to visit his favorite missions, and while he was at Devil's Lake Agency a fierce blizzard broke over the prairie. After waiting for several days he started for Fargo to keep an appointment with Father Stephan. A driving snowstorm forced him to halt in an old shanty, where he stayed for a week while the temperature was forty-five degrees below zero. Several persons in the neighborhood froze to death, and Father Brouillet was afflicted with snow blindness. When the news circulated that he might be forced to give up his position with the bureau, messages of affection and concern poured into Washington from teachers and pupils in Catholic Indian schools from Dakota to the Pacific coast. A replacement in the Washington office was selected for him, but upon his recovering somewhat, this Captain John Mullan instead assumed Ewing's duties upon the death of the general.[6]

Despite a semi-paralysis from his ordeal, Brouillet returned to his work with the bureau. During the summer and fall of 1883 he established two new training schools, one for Indian boys at Feehanville, Illinois, and the second for girls in Milwaukee. Upon his return to Washington, however, the paralysis was markedly worse. After a few weeks in Providence Hospital there he died on February 5, 1884. The solemn re-

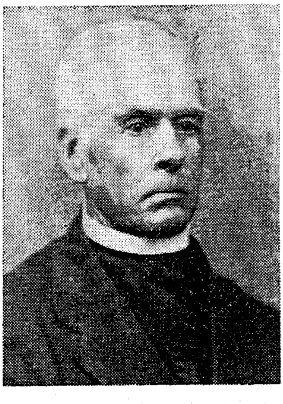
[5] EC, pamphlet containing the discourse given by Monsignor Guilday on October 17, 1935. The facts of the general's life were taken from an unpublished biography by his son, John K. M. Ewing.

[6] *The Work of the Decade,* pp. 12, 23-27. According to an unnumbered page which was added to this publication, the booklet had been prepared and approved by Father Brouillet, but he had died before it was distributed.

FATHER JEAN-BAPTISTE ABRAHAM BROUILLET

Picture at right is a likeness of the bureau's treasurer during the 1870's.

Courtesy of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions.



Picture at left was taken of Father Brouillet after he had suffered semi-paralysis from a Dakota blizzard.

Courtesy of the Reverend Gabriel A. O'Rourke, Bancroft, Iowa.

quiem Mass in St. Matthew's Church was offered by Father Placide L. Chapelle. This same priest, who later as Archbishop of Santa Fé was to become vice-president of the bureau, delivered the funeral sermon.[7] Among those who attended the services was a delegation of Flathead Indians. It had been to this tribe that Father DeSmet had first journeyed in 1840 in answer to the four petitions for "black robes" which these red men had made to the Bishop of St. Louis.[8]

Sisters in Father Brouillet's Diocese of Nesqually wrote into the private chronicles of their convent the grief they had felt at the news of his death. Teachers of Indian children themselves, the sisters attributed to him the numerous benefits they had received through the Catholic bureau.[9] Father Thomas Ewing Sherman, S.J., the nephew of his associate in the establishment of the office in the capital, said that the priest was the closest likeness to a true apostle that he had ever known.[10] If there is a validity in the adage that no man is a hero to his valet, then the finest appreciation of Brouillet's character came from Charles S. Lusk. Originally as General Ewing's law clerk, this man had worked with Brouillet in the Washington office from the time of its authorization by Archbishop Bayley on January 2, 1874. The secretary of the bureau ascribed his conversion to Catholicism some years later to his memory of the priest with whom he had had constant every-day contact. And forty years after Brouillet's death Lusk said of him: "He was a most lovable character, full of the milk of human kindness, and was the nearest approach to a saint of any man I have known."[11]

In the two years subsequent to the revocation of the Peace Policy the Church had thus lost the two pioneers in the cen-

---

[7] Washington *Catholic,* February 9, 1884. Added to a long article was the entire text of Father Chapelle's sermon, which was reprinted in full in the *Catholic Sentinel* (Portland, Oregon), February 21, 1884.

[8] *Freeman's Journal,* February 16, 1884.

[9] Chroniques de la Providence Sts. Anges, entry of March 26, 1884. Original is in the possession of the Sisters of Charity of Providence, Vancouver.

[10] [Sherman], *In Memoriam. Charles Ewing,* p. 100.

[11] Lusk, "A Retrospect of Fifty Years," *Indian Sentinel,* IV (January, 1924), 4.

tralized effort to aid the missions for the American Indians. Though the accomplishments under the direction of Ewing and Brouillet had been great, it had been beyond their power to institute a nationwide method of supporting either the office in Washington or the workers in the field. It will be remembered that in 1881 Bishop Marty tried to secure an endorsement from the hierarchy of a national collection for the work among the red men. At that time the Benedictine bishop had said that a regular and a steady income would be insured if provincial church councils would approve these missionary endeavors.[12]

Nothing developed along this line, but shortly thereafter the need of another plenary council was recognized. Such a formal meeting of all the hierarchy of the United States was, of course, superior to an assembly composed of the bishops of an individual province, for the latter embraced only an ecclesiastical section of the country. The last general gathering of this nature had been in Baltimore in 1866. In addition to the concern for Indians, many other problems had arisen in the interim which necessitated proper legislation for settlement.

In preparation for another plenary council a number of the archbishops and bishops of the nation were invited to a preliminary meeting in Rome. This was held in the fall of 1883 in conjunction with the officials of the Congregation of the Propaganda. The first session was on November 13 and almost a month had passed before the discussions came to a close. Ill health having prevented Cardinal McCloskey from attending, Archbishop Gibbons was then generally recognized as the outstanding member of the American hierarchy. He was appointed by the Holy See as apostolic delegate for the forthcoming council, which once again was to have Baltimore as its site.

The carefully planned agenda for the meeting in Rome had included deliberation about the spiritual care of the Negro and the Indian. The two races were taken together as deserving special consideration, and attention was focused on the Negroes

12 AAO, Marty to [O'Connor], Yankton, January 10, [18]81.

because of their greater numbers, among whom only a few were Catholics. In the consideration of this problem James Gibbons, the future cardinal, took the lead by suggesting that a uniform method be adopted for collecting funds. The ensuing discussions revived the ideas which Brouillet and Marty had spoken of previously for financing the Indian mission work. Moreover, the Archbishop of Baltimore favored the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in every parish and diocese of the United States. In this way foreign missions would be helped, and the bishops not having needy Negroes within their territory would assist those who did. Archbishop Williams of Boston wanted a collection taken up annually on a designated feast day, but he would not have had the contributions solicited for the Negro work directly. Instead the appeal would have been made for the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, with a certain sum from the proceeds withdrawn for the use among the Negroes. Herein the Archbishop of Boston did not ever refer to the Indians, probably because no tribe was quartered in his territory.

A number of the hierarchy at this Roman discussion feared that a new general collection would hurt the ones already being made. But they did not reject Williams' proposal, providing it was announced that a part of the money given would be used for the Indians and Negroes.[13] The outcome of all this was the tentative proposal to be discussed at the council in Baltimore for an annual collection in all the dioceses of the United States. The proceeds of a yearly solicitation of donations were to be employed in the conversion and care of both Negroes and In-

---

[13] *Relatio Collationum quas Romae coram S.C. de P. F. Praefecto habuerunt Archiepiscopi pluresque Episcopi Statuum Foederatorum Americae, 1883* (Baltimore, [1884]), p. 27. A translation of this section of the minutes was given in *The Jurist, XI* (July, 1951), 424.

dians. Pope Leo XIII was asked to extend to the contributors the indulgence which he had granted on December 3, 1882, for a similar undertaking in Haiti and Santa Domingo.[14]

As a second and more proximate preparation for the council itself the various topics to be treated were divided among the ecclesiastical provinces of the United States. In this way the metropolitan and his suffragan bishops of a particular province devoted special attention to a restricted field of business, which was prepared for the consideration of all the hierarchy. Thus among the subjects discussed in the Province of Cincinnati was the provision for the work among the red and black races. As neither Marty nor O'Connor was in this ecclesiastical division, they did not participate in the discussion. Archbishop William H Elder, who had succeeded John B. Purcell in the Ohio see, advised Gibbons that he and his suffragans had agreed that a national collection should be taken up each year. The method of distributing the proceeds was not, however, decided.[15]

Brouillet having died in the meantime, Bishop Marty recommended Father Stephan as his successor, a choice in which his friend Bishop O'Connor concurred. Finding that the former agent at Standing Rock was approved by other missionary bishops too, Gibbons appointed him temporarily.[16] The com-

---

14 *Capita proposita et examinata in collationibus, quas coram nonullis Emis. Cardinalibus Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide ad praeparadum futurum Concilium plenarium habuerunt Rmi. Archiepiscopi et Episcopi foederatorum Statuum Americae Septemrionalis Romae congregati, Cap. XI: De cura pastorali gerenda pro hominibus Nigris,* n.p., n.d., pp. 10-11.

15 *Relationes eorum quae disceptata fuerunt ab illmis. ac Revmis. Metropolitis cum suis suffranganeis in suis singulis provinciis super schema futuri concilii praesertim vero super capita cuique commissa* (Baltimore, 1884), pp. 11, 26-28, 39-40.

16 AAB, 77-N-8, Marty to Gibbons, St. Paul, February 22, 1884; 77-N-10, John Ireland to Gibbons, St. Paul, February 28, 1884; 77-N-11, Thomas L. Grace to Gibbons, St. Paul, February 29, 1884; 77-P-10, O'Connor to Gibbons, Omaha, March 23, 1884; 77-S-5, Kiliam C. Flasch to Gibbons, La Crosse, April 2, 1884, all approved of the appointment of Stephan. ABCIM, Gibbons to Stephan, Baltimore, May 14, 1884, made appointment, subject to the ratification of the plenary council. AAB, 78-E-2, Marty to Gibbons, Yankton, May 28, 1884, thanked the Archbishop of Baltimore for his reception of Stephan.

mittee of five prelates which the plenary council ultimately designated for Indian affairs made no change, and the Archbishop of Baltimore confirmed his previous authorization after the council had adjourned. Thus Stephan continued as the director of the Catholic bureau until his death in 1901.[17]

To facilitate the conduct of the council and to familiarize all the bishops with the action taken in the individual ecclesiastical provinces, a schema of decrees was drawn up in advance of the actual assembling of the hierarchy. One chapter dealt with the American aborigines. Attention was called to the glorious record of the Catholic missionaries from the discovery of the North American continent, with special praise being bestowed upon the teachers in the Indian schools. In the recent past the furthering of the welfare of the red race by the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions was singled out, and all of the participants in its operations were highly commended. The preliminary schema proposed that this organization be perpetuated as the official agency of the entire hierarchy. The rules of its operation were, however, to be revised to improve its effectiveness. The Archbishop of Baltimore, it was suggested, should be empowered to select the officers of the bureau as he had in the past.[18]

The Third Plenary Council of the Church in the United States convened in Baltimore for its first preliminary session on November 6, 1884. A week later Archbishop Charles J. Seghers of Oregon City spoke to the faithful at the evening services in the Cathedral of the Assumption. "The Catholic missions among the Indians" was the topic for which his authority to speak was derived from personal experience.[19] It

---

[17] AAB, 78-V-7, Gibbons to Stephan, Baltimore, December 20, 1884, copy, notified the priest of his appointment by the episcopal committee; 78-V-10, Stephan to Gibbons, Washington, December 22, 1884, formally accepted the appointment.

[18] *Schema Decretorum Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis Tertii, Caput III: De Aboriginibus* (Baltimore, [1884]), pp. 72-73.

[19] AAB, Gibbons to Seghers, Baltimore, August 21, 1884, copy, invited the Archbishop of Oregon City, who was then in Rome, to preach on this topic during the council.

was Tuesday, December 1, when this question came up in a private meeting. No specific recommendation had previously been made for the method of allocating funds from a national collection. Various suggestions were then offered, even including one that half the money be used for parochial schools. Bishop Joseph Dwenger, C.PP.S., of Fort Wayne made the proposal which was accepted during this first debate. It provided that the proceeds of the collection should be sent to a commission appointed by the plenary council, and under this authority the distribution would be made. At the same time it was agreed that the collection for the Society for the Propagation of the Faith should be conducted according to the rules of that organization, which then had its headquarters at Lyons, France.[20]

The decree given final approval by the council differed from the draft of laws first proposed by including specific clauses about the government of the bureau. First of all, as was fitting, attention was called to the command of Jesus Christ, Who had died for all men, that the gospel should be preached to the poor. Pride was voiced in the glory which had accrued to the Church through the Indian missionaries of the preceding four centuries in North America. Full endorsement was given to the action of Archbishop Bayley in establishing an agency of the Church in Washington, as he had done in 1874. As a recognized institution of the Church the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions was to continue its work under the direction of a committee of five members of the hierarchy, headed by Archbishop Gibbons. The officers of the bureau would be named by this episcopal committee, instead of by the Archbishop of Baltimore alone. Moreover, a priest was to be named as secretary of another commission of three bishops not having Indians in their dioceses. Through this priest the collections would be received and distribution made. The money would be divided according to the needs as set forth in annual reports by bishops

20 *Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis Tertii, Caput II: De Cura Pastorali Pro Hominibus Nigris et Indis* (Private edition; Baltimore, 1884), pp. 78-80.

having the care of the Indians and/or Negroes, both races henceforth being under this single authorized agency.

This legislation of the council was approved by the Holy See without any amendment. A part of the decree should be quoted in full because of it being the council's answer to the long-felt problem of finances:

> A special collection shall be taken up in every diocese of this country on the first Sunday of Lent of each year, and the proceeds thereof shall be sent to the Commission which is to be established for these domestic missions [i.e., Negro and Indian]. The distribution of this is to be made in this manner. The money which is derived from this collection, in the case of dioceses wherein the Society for the Propagation of the Faith already exists, is to be expended by the Commission in the interest of the missions among the Indians and the Negroes. In dioceses where that Society does not exist, the collection is to be divided into two parts, one of which is to be transmitted to Lyons, and the other half is to be retained for the Indian and Negro missions.[21]

The prescriptions of the Third Plenary Council would seem to have satisfied the aspirations of Ewing, Brouillet, and all the friends of the Catholic bureau. Yet the *Freeman's Journal* interpreted the legislation contrarywise. The following spring John B. Brondel, named the first Bishop of Helena the previous year, came to New York on a collection tour for his Indian missions in Montana. In recommending his appeal to its readers, the New York newspaper included a comment that the late council had given the Washington bureau "a kick."[22] While undoubtedly Bishop Brondel was grateful for the endorsement of his drive for funds, he advised Archbishop Gibbons that he had given no information to Editor McMaster or to others that the bishops of the council had had any such thought in mind.[23] With the full endorsement of the bureau's

---

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

[22] *Freeman's Journal*, May 9, 1885.

[23] AAB, 79-S-7, Brondel to Gibbons, Helena, July 29, 1885.

record inscribed in the proceedings of the assembly in Baltimore, it would be difficult to discern the basis for the statement in the *Freeman's Journal.* Actually, in addition to the approval of the hierarchy the function of the bureau had been greatly expanded by the inclusion of the work for the Negro race in its activities.

Bishop Marty at once was ready for the collection which the council had authorized. Action was not to be so rapid, even though the bureau was in dire need of money for its current expenses.[24] When again in the following year no action was announced, the Bishop of Natchez expressed his severe disappointment. He was anxious to receive the aid he had anticipated using for the Negroes in his southern diocese.[25] But Bishop O'Connor and Bishop Marty, pioneers in the movement for the welfare and conversion of the red men, saw the first of the annual collections in the United States inaugurated at the commencement of Lent in 1887. The substantial sum realized —$81,898.01—assisted in the rapid expansion of the system of Catholic Indian schools during the next few years.[26]

For a decade thereafter the national government made increasingly larger allotments in consideration of the teaching and care of the Indian children by the Catholics. Unfortunately, the anti-Catholicism of the American Protective Association effected a termination of the federal administration's participation in these schools during the closing years of the nineteenth century. But the Catholic bureau previously had survived and progressed when hopes for government payments were thwarted in the critical period of its infancy. Strengthened and ma-

---

24 *Ibid.,* 79-A-13, Marty to Gibbons, Alexandria, Dakota Territory, January 9, 1885. *Ibid.,* 79-A-11, Commissioners of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions to Gibbons, Washington, January 9, 1885, asked for permission to take up a collection in Washington, as funds for immediate operating expenses were exhausted.

25 *Ibid.,* 79-Y-3, Francis [A.] Janssens to Gibbons, Natchez, December 23, 1885.

26 *The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, 1874 to 1895,* p. 29. For a survey of particular aspects of these years, cf. Harry J. Sievers, S.J., "The Catholic Indian School Issue and the Presidential Election of 1892," *Catholic Historical Review,* XXXVIII (July, 1952), 129-155.

tured nearly a generation later, its operations could only be hampered but not frustrated. Though the later history has not yet been adequately told, the labors for the red race have continued even to the present under the direction of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions.

THE SOURCES

As a preface to the listing of the sources from which this study has been drawn the writer would wish to offer the following observations upon the principal archival depositories. First among these in importance for the history of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions was the archives of that organization at 2021 H Street, N. W., in Washington, D. C. These files cover the entire period treated, beginning with the assumption of duties by Charles Ewing in 1873. The holdings are fairly complete for both incoming and outgoing correspondence, but the absence of all finding aids renders impossible a truly definitive statement in that regard. The copies of letters sent, which originally were in letterbooks, have been distributed in the file folders. As no index was maintained for the arrangement, many of them probably can now be related to the subject for which they were composed only with difficulty.

The Ewing Collection was assembled by John K. M. Ewing, son of the general, for a biography of his father. The great bulk of correspondence to which the writer had access dealt with the claims which various parties had before the government, usually in relation to Indian affairs. Most of this material had no pertinence to the work of the bureau. Then, too, in this collection there were very few copies of answers sent to the letters which had been received. Notwithstanding these deficiencies, the fact remains that in conjunction with the archives of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions the Ewing Collection was highly valuable. In some instances, such as the trip of Father Brouillet to Europe in 1878-1879, it supplied all the manuscript reports, which were merely supplemented by the brief summaries in the official publications of the Catholic bureau.

For the result in the field of the operations of the Washington office the principal dependence was placed on the archives of the Archdiocese of Omaha. From the advent of Bishop James O'Connor there in 1876 it appears that every bit of incoming mail was retained. Unfortunately, almost no record was made of the replies sent, other than the notations which the bishop made of the date. Here, too, no finding aids of any sort as yet exist, but with the freedom granted for research it is hoped and believed that no pertinent material for the period treated was overlooked. Very few letters to Bishop Marty were found there, or anywhere else. Either the files of the Benedictine superior have been destroyed, or they have not been made available for research.

Not so rich in material for this study but more readily consulted were the archives of the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus, of the University of Notre Dame, and of the Archdioceses of Baltimore and New York. In the first three most of the holdings were not only indexed but a summary of the contents had been made. The Jesuit archives in St. Louis is rich in the collection of "DeSmetiana," which supplied a valuable introduction to the foundation of the Catholic bureau. In the McMaster Papers at Notre Dame there is much correspondence which pertains to the published attacks by the editor of the *Freeman's Journal* on the office of the Catholic Indian commissioner.

In the archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore is a well arranged treasure-trove of episcopal correspondence for the first years of the Catholic bureau. The essential part which Archbishop Bayley had in the organization of that office makes these holdings especially desirable to complement the files of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. Archbishop Gibbons, judging by the contents of these archives, did not devote as much attention to the Catholic bureau as had his predecessor, but the records on hand were valuable for a rounded account of the later years of the Peace Policy. The archives of the Archdiocese of New York supplemented the material found elsewhere, principally insofar as Cardinal McCloskey exerted an influence on the work of the Catholic bureau.

The various departments of the United States government contained three distinctive fonts of information for this researcher. In the National Archives the extensive files of incoming and outgoing correspondence would be extremely difficult to canvass in a reasonable time were it not for the cordial assistance of those in charge. Since most of the material obtained there is unavailable anywhere else, the archives may be regarded as indispensable for the government's role in the years of the Peace Policy. Specialized collections in the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress supplemented, usually with personal details, the basic matter which had already been collected. The third government classification is that of the annual printed reports of the Secretary of the Interior, of his subordinate, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and of the independent but auxiliary Board of Indian Commissioners. These were extremely useful for comparative statistics and official releases. Then, too, the latter two reports printed the letters of Indian superintendents and agents, and sometimes of missionaries as well. While the communications may have been composed with the possibility of publication as a restraint upon frankness, from a comparison with the original letters they do not appear to have been edited.

Scrapbooks in the archives of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, as well as in the Ewing Collection and in the possession of Miss Eleanor Sherman Fitch, supplied pertinent newspaper clippings in some instances. In other cases, from these scrapbooks leads were furnished for finding contemporaneous newspaper and periodical comment on the problems of the Indians.

Only four or five books were used with enough frequence to justify comment. Hodge's *Handbook of the American Indian,* etc. served as a dictionary or standard for Indian names of people and places. Though out of print for four decades, it still has no competitor in this respect. The two principal treatments of the Peace Policy were Priest's *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren* and Rushmore's *The Indian Policy during Grant's Administrations.* Both were based upon solid research. While this writer has differed with both conclusion and interpretation in some instances, each of these authors seemed fair to the Catholic position, insofar as that information was available to them. *Crusading Along Sioux Trails,* by Sister Claudia Duratschek, O.S.B., was good for background about the missions of Dakota Territory, but lacked the care and accuracy which was found in the works of Priest and Rushmore.

Very few letters addressed to Abbot and later Bishop Martin Marty, O.S.B., were found, though an earnest search was made. In his article in the *Dictionary of American Biography* Richard J. Purcell declared: "Marty's papers and letters were burned by a family in ignorance of their value." Possible depositories in which they were not discovered included those of the Diocese of St. Cloud, the Archdiocese of Indianapolis (suc-

cessor of Vincennes), the papers of Bishop (at that period) John Ireland, which are in the possession of the Right Reverend James H. Moynihan, Minneapolis, and the archives of St. John's Abbey, Collegeville. The original archives of St. Meinrad's Abbey, St. Meinrad, Indiana, were destroyed by fire in 1888, after the complete termination of the Peace Policy. Nothing pertaining to Bishop Marty nor the Peace Policy was found in the archives of the Archdiocese of St. Louis and of the Central Bureau of the Catholic Central Verein of America, at least for the period which was treated in this study. Neither Georgetown University nor St. Aloysius Parish, Washington, D. C., had any correspondence of Jesuit Fathers Bernard A. Maguire and Bernadine F. Wiget with Archbishop Blanchet. The Paulist archives in New York had nothing for the period in which Father Deshon participated in the formation of the bureau.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore.

Archives of the Archdiocese of Indianapolis.

Archives of the Archdiocese of New York.

Archives of the Archdiocese of Omaha.

Archives of the Archdiocese of Portland, Oregon.

Archives of the Archdiocese of Seattle.

Archives of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions.

The Catholic University of America, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Guilday Collection.

Archives of the Diocese of Portland, Maine.

Ewing Collection, in the possession of John K. M. and Eleanor Ewing, son and daughter of General Charles Ewing, Silver Spring, Maryland.

Library of Congress, Division of Manuscripts.

- Ewing Papers
- Grant Papers
- Schurz Papers
- Sherman Papers

Archives of Missouri Province, Society of Jesus, St. Louis.

National Archives.

- Records of the Board of Indian Commissioners
- Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs
- Records of the Secretary of the Interior:
  - Appointments Division
  - Indian Division

Archives of St. Vincent Archabbey, Latrobe, Pennsylvania.

Archives of the University of Notre Dame.

GENERAL WORKS

Adams, Evelyn C. *American Indian Education.* New York, 1946.

Altamira, Rafael. *A History of Spain.* Translated by Muna Lee. New York, 1949.

Andrews, E. Benjamin. *History of the Last Quarter-Century in the United States, 1870-1895.* Vol. I. New York, 1896.

Anonymous. *The Indian, The Northwest, 1600-1900.* Chicago, 1901.

Anthony, Charles V. *Fifty Years of Methodism.* San Francisco, 1901.

Bancroft, George. *History of the United States.* Vol. II. Boston, 1879.

Bland, Sister Joan, S.N.D. *Hibernian Crusade: The Story of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America.* Washington, 1951.

Brosseau, J. D., O.P., *St-Georges d'Henryville et la Seigneurie de Noyan.* Saint Hyacinthe, 1913.

Brownson, Henry. *Brownson's Middle Life.* Detroit, 1896.

Burton, Katherine. *Three Generations.* New York, 1947.

Carey, Charles H. *History of Oregon.* Vol. II. Portland, 1922.

Cicognani, Amleto Giovanni. *Sanctity in America.* Paterson, New Jersey, 1941.

Curley, Michael J., C.Ss.R. *Church and State in the Spanish Floridas, 1783-1882.* Washington, 1940.

Dale, Edward Everett. *The Indians of the Southwest.* Norman, 1949.

DeSmet, Pierre-Jean, S.J. *Western Missions and Missionaries.* New York, 1859.

Duratschek, Sister Mary Claudia, O.S.B. *Crusading Along Sioux Trails.* St. Meinrad, Indiana, 1947.

Eastman, Elaine G. *Pratt: The Red Man's Moses.* Norman, 1935.

Ellis, George E. *The Red Man and the White Man in North America.* Boston, 1882.

Engelhardt, Zephyrin, O.F.M. *The Franciscans in California.* Harbor Springs, Michigan, 1897.

Fuller, George W. *The Inland Empire of the Pacific Northwest.* Vol. II. Spokane, 1928.

Garraghan, Gilbert J, S.J. *The Jesuits of the Middle United States.* 3 vols. New York, 1938.

Geary, Gerald J. *The Secularization of the California Missions, 1810-1846.* Washington, 1934.

Graves, William White. *Life and Letters of Reverend Father John Schoenmakers, S.J., Apostle to the Osages.* Parsons, Kansas, 1928.

Gray, Wood. *The Hidden Civil War.* New York, 1942.

Greeley, Horace. *American Conflict.* Vol. I. Hartford, 1865.

Guilday, Peter. *A History of the Councils of Baltimore, 1791-1884.* New York, 1932.

———. *The Life and Times of John Carroll.* Vol. II. New York, 1922.

———, (ed.). *The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy, 1792-1919.* Washington, 1923.

H. H. [Helen Hunt Jackson]. *A Century of Dishonor.* New York, 1881.

Hickey, Edward John. *The Society for the Propagation of the Faith.* Washington, 1922.

Hoffman, Mathias M. *The Church Founders of the Northwest.* Milwaukee, 1937.

Hoopes, Alban W. *Indian Affairs and Their Administration with Special Reference to the Far West, 1849-1860.* Philadelphia, 1932.

Hughes, Thomas, S.J. *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Text.* 2 vols. Cleveland, 1907.

———. *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Documents.* 2 vols. Cleveland, 1908.

Johnston, Sister Mary Antonio, Sister of Mercy. *Federal Relations with the Great Sioux Indians of South Dakota, 1887-1933.* Washington, 1948.

Keefe, Sister St. Thomas Aquinas, G.N.S.H. *The Congregation of the Grey Nuns, 1737-1910.* Washington, 1942.

Kelsey, Rayner Wickersham. *Friends and the Indians, 1655-1917.* Philadelphia, 1917.

Kleber, Albert, O.S.B. *Ferdinand, Indiana, 1840-1940.* St. Meinrad, 1940.

Kwitchen, Sister Mary Augustine, O.S.F. *James Alphonsus McMaster.* Washington, 1949.

Lamott, John B. *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, 1821-1921.* Cincinnati, 1921.

Leger, Sister Mary Celeste, Sister of Mercy. *The Catholic Indian Missions in Maine, 1611-1820.* Washington, 1929.

Lewis, Lloyd. *Sherman, Fighting Prophet.* New York, 1932.

Lyons, Sister Mary Letitia, S.H.N. *Francis Norbert Blanchet and the Founding of the Oregon Missions, 1838-1848.* Washington, 1940.

McAllister, Anna. *Ellen Ewing, Wife of General Sherman.* New York, 1936.

———. *In Winter We Flourish.* New York, 1939.

McAvoy, Thomas Timothy, C.S.C. *The Catholic Church in Indiana, 1789-1834.* New York, 1940.

McGillycuddy, Julia B. *McGillycuddy, Agent.* Stanford, California, 1941.

McInerney, J. J. *Past and Present.* Humboldt, Kansas, 1910.

McLaughlin, James. *My Friend the Indian.* Cambridge, 1910.

McSorley, Joseph, C.S.P. *Father Hecker and His Friends.* St. Louis, 1952.

Marshall, William I. *Acquisition of Oregon and the Long Suppressed Evidence about Marcus Whitman.* 2 vols. Seattle, 1911.

Martin, Sister M. Aquinata, O.P. *The Catholic Church on the Nebraska Frontier, 1854-1885.* Washington, 1937.

Merington, Marguerite (ed.). *The Custer Story.* New York, 1950.

Mulvey, Sister Mary Doris, O.P. *French Catholic Missionaries in the Present United States, 1604-1791.* Washington, 1936.

Nevins, Allan. *Hamilton Fish.* New York, 1936.

———. *The Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1878.* New York, 1927.

O'Hara, Edwin V. *Pioneer Catholic History of Oregon.* Portland, 1911.

Palladino, Lawrence B., S.J. *Indian and White in the Northwest.* Baltimore, 1894.

Paré, George. *The Catholic Church in Detroit, 1701-1888.* Detroit, 1951.

Parkman, Francis. *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century.* Vol. II. Boston, 1894.

Pinelo, Antonio de Leon. *Tratado de Confirmaciones Reales.* Buenos Aires [Madrid, 1630], 1922.

Pitezel, John H. *Lights and Shades of Missionary Life.* Cincinnati, 1859.

Poole, DeWitt C. *Among the Sioux of Dakota.* New York, 1881.

Priest, Loring Benson. *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren.* New Brunswick, 1942.

Reily, John T. (ed.). *Collections in the Life and Times of J. Cardinal Gibbons.* Vol. III. McSherrystown, Pennsylvania, 1895.

Rister, Carl Coke. *Land Hunger: David L. Payne and the Oklahoma Boomers.* Norman, 1942.

Roemer, Theodore, O.F.M. Cap. *Ten Decades of Alms.* St. Louis, 1942.

———. *The Leopoldine Foundation and the Church in the United States, 1829-1839.* New York, 1933.

Rothensteiner, John. *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis.* 2 vols. St. Louis, 1928.

Rushmore, Elsie Mitchell. *The Indian Policy During Grant's Administrations.* Jamaica, New York, 1914.

Schmeckebier, Laurence F. *The Office of Indian Affairs.* Baltimore, 1927.

Schmidlin, Joseph. *Catholic Mission History.* Translated by Matthias Braun, S.V.D. Techny, Illinois, 1933.

———. *Catholic Mission Theory.* Translated by Matthias Braun, S.V.D. Techny, Illinois, 1931.

Shea, John Gilmary. *History of the Catholic Church in the United States.* 4 vols. Akron, Ohio, 1886.

———. *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States,* 1529-1854. New York, 1855.

[Sherman, Thomas E., S.J.] *In Memoriam. Charles Ewing.* Philadelphia, 1888.

Sparks, Jared (ed.). *The Writings of George Washington.* Vol. X. Boston, 1836.

Stokes, Anson Phelps. *Church and State in the United States.* Vol. II. New York, 1950.

Strong, William E. *The Story of the American Board.* Boston, 1910.

Talbot, Francis X., S.J. *Saint Among Savages; the Life of Isaac Jogues.* New York, 1935.

Textor, Lucy E. *Official Relations between the United States and the Sioux Indians.* Palo Alto, 1896.

Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America.* Vol. I. New York, n.d.

Toynbee, Arnold J. *A Study of History.* Vol. I. London, 1934.

Trollope, Frances. *Domestic Manners of the Americans.* New York, 1949.

Verwyst, P. Chrysostomus, O.F.M. *Life and Labors of Rt. Rev. Frederic Baraga.* Milwaukee, 1900.

Walsh, Henry L., S.J. *Hallowed Were the Gold Dust Trails.* Santa Clara, 1946.

Wiltse, Charles M. *John C. Calhoun, Nationalist, 1782-1828.* New York, 1944.

Yeager, Sister M. Hildegarde, C.S.C. *The Life of James Roosevelt Bayley, First Bishop of Newark and Eighth Archbishop of Baltimore, 1814-1877.* Washington, 1947.

PRINTED SOURCES

Blanchet, A.M.A. *Brief History of the St. James' Mission Claim.* Vancouver, 1879.

Blanchet, Francis Norbert. *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon.* Portland, Oregon, 1878.

[Brouillet, J.B.A.]. *Address of the Catholic Clergy of the Province of Oregon, to the Catholics of the United States.* Portland, 1874.

Brouillet, J.B.A. *Protestantism in Oregon. Account of the Murder of Dr. Whitman, and the Ungrateful Calumnies of H. H. Spalding, Protestant Missionary.* New York, 1853.

Chittenden, Hiram M., and Richardson, Albert T. (eds.). *Life, Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean DeSmet, S.J., 1801-1873.* 4 vols. New York, 1905.

Commager, Henry Steele (ed.). *Documents of American History.* New York, 1948.

Guilday, Peter. *Discourse on Charles Ewing.* Washington, 1935.

Ketcham, William H. "Our Catholic Indian Missions," *First American Catholic Missionary Congress,* edited by Francis Clement Kelley. Chicago, 1909.

Laws of New York, 1875. Albany, 1875.

Laws of New York, 1876. Albany, 1876.

Publications of the Catholic Indian bureau (after 1879, of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions), Washington, D. C.:

Anonymous. *The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, 1874 to 1895.* Washington, 1895.

Anonymous. *Manual of Catholic Indian Missionary Associations.* [Washington, 1876].

Anonymous. *Official Construction of President Grant's Indian Peace Policy.* Washington, [1876].

Anonymous. *Statistics of Catholic Indian Education and Civilization, July 1, 1884, to June 30, 1885.* Washington, 1885.

Anonymous. *Status of the Catholic Indian Missions in the United States, 1876.* [Baltimore, 1876].

Anonymous. *The Work of the Decade.* [Washington, 1884].

[Jean-Baptiste A. Brouillet]. *Report of the treasurer of the Catholic Indian Mission Fund, from January, 1873, to December 1, 1876.* N.d., n.p.

Charter for the Control of the Catholic Indian Mission Fund. [Washington, 1876].

Ewing, Charles. *Circular of the Catholic Commissioner for Indian Missions to the Catholics of the United States.* Baltimore, 1874.

———. *Compilation of Statutory Law as it Affects Indian Reservations, and Comments thereon for the Guidance of Indian Missionaries.* Washington, [1878].

———. *Petition of the Catholic Church for the Agency of the Chippewas of Lake Superior.* Washington, 1873.

Publications of the United States Government:

American State Papers, Indian Affairs Vol. I and II. Washington, 1832.

Annual Report, Secretary of the Interior, 1869-1882.

Cherokee Tobacco, 11 Wallace 616, 621 (U.S., 1870).

Congressional Globe, passim.

Congressional Record, passim.

Constitution of the United States, The, Article I, Section 8.

Executive Document No. 4, Senate, 32nd Congress, 2nd Session.

Executive Document No. 38, House of Representatives, 35th Congress, 1st Session.

Executive Document No. 156, Senate, 39th Congress, 2nd Session.

Executive Document No. 30, Senate, 41st Congress, 3rd Session.

Executive Document No. 37, Senate, 41st Congress, 3rd Session.

Executive Document No. 39, Senate, 41st Congress, 3rd Session.

Executive Document No. 95, Senate, 48th Congress, 2nd Session (later published as: Fletcher, Alice C., *Indian Education and Civilization.* Washington, 1888).

House Report No. 98, 42nd Congress, 3rd Session.

House Report No. 778, 43rd Congress, 1st Session.

House Report No. 1, 44th Congress, 1st Session.

House Report No. 241, 45th Congress, 2nd Session.

House Report No. 29, 46th Congress, 1st Session.

House Report No. 1393, 46th Congress, 2nd Session.

House Report No. 1370, 46th Congress, 3rd Session.

Journal of the Second Annual Conference of the Board of Indian Commissioners with the Representatives of the Religious Societies Co-operating with the Government. Washington, 1873.

Karrahoo v. *Adams,* I Dillon 344, 347 (1870).

Register of Department of the Interior, 1879. Washington, 1879.

Poe, O[rlando] M. *Reports of Inspection Made in the Summer of 1877 by Generals P. H Sheridan and W. T. Sherman of Country North of the Union Pacific Railroad.* Washington, 1878.

Report of the Joint Special Committee. Washington, 1867.

Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1869-1882.

Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1868-1882.

United States Statutes at Large, passim.

Worcester v. *Georgia,* 6 Peters 553 (1832).

Records pertaining to the decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, 1884:

Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis Tertii. (Private Edition) Baltimore, 1884.

Capita proposita et examinata in collationibus, quas coram nonullis Emis. Cardinalibus Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide ad praeparandum futurum Concilium plenarium habuerunt Rmi. Archiepiscopi et Episcopi foederatorum Statuum Americae Septemrionalis Romae congregati. N.p., n.d.

Relatio Collationum quas Romae coram S.C. de P.F. Praefecto habuerunt Archiepiscopi pluresque Episcopi Statuum Foederatorum Americae 1883. Baltimore, [1884]. A translation of these minutes was given in *The Jurist,* XI (January, 1951), 121-131; (April, 1951), 302-311; (July, 1951), 417-424; (October, 1951), 538-546.

Relationes eorum quae disceptata fuerunt ab illmis. ac Revmis. Metropolitis cum suis suffranganeis in suis singulis provinciis super schema futuri concilii praesertim vero super capita cuique commissa. Baltimore, 1884.

Schema Decretorum Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis Tertii. Baltimore, [1884].

Richardson, James Daniel (ed.). *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents.* Vol. I, IX, X. New York, 1897.

Woodstock Letters. Woodstock, Maryland, 1886.

HANDBOOKS AND REFERENCE BOOKS

Codex Juris Canonici. Vatican City, 1948.

Cohen, Felix S. *Handbook of Federal Indian Law.* Washington, 1942.

Dictionary of American Biography. Vol. IV and V. New York, 1930. Vol. XII. New York, 1933. Vol. XX. New York, 1936.

"Sitting Bull," *Encyclopedia Americana,* XXV, 48. New York, 1949.

Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945. Washington, 1949.

Hodge, Frederick Webb (ed.). *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico.* 2 vols. Washington, 1907.

Kappler, Charles J. (ed.). *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties.* 2 vols. Washington, 1904.

Ketcham, William H. "Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions," *Catholic Encyclopedia,* VII, 745-746. New York, 1910.

"Eugene Casserly," *National Cyclopedia of American Biography.* Vol. IV. New York, 1897.

Official Manual, State of Missouri, 1947-1948. Jefferson City, 1948.

Rusk, Fern Helen. *George Caleb Bingham, The Missouri Artist.* Jefferson City, Missouri 1917.

Sadliers' Catholic Directory, Almanac, and Ordo, for the years 1869-1882. New York, 1869-1882.

Schearer, Donald C., O.F.M.Cap. *Pontificia Americana.* Washington, 1933.

Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1950. Washington, 1950.

Swanton, John R. *The Indian Tribes of North America.* Washington, 1952.

Webster's Geographical Dictionary. Springfield, Massachusetts, 1949.

PERIODICALS

Abel, Annie Heloise. "The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi," *American Historical Association, Annual Report for the Year 1906,* I, 412. Washington, 1908.

Annalen der Katholischen Indianer-Missionen von Amerika, heft 1 (Juli, 1877), No. 1.

Annals of the Catholic Indian Missions of America, I & II.

"Annual Review, 1848-1949," *Michigan Indian Foundation* (Detroit, 1949), pp. 6-12.

Anonymous. "American Catholics and Partisan Newspapers," *Catholic World,* XVI (March, 1873), 756-765.

Anonymous. "Father Chirouse and the United States Government," *Indian Sentinel,* I (January, 1918), 18.

Anonymous. "Father Padilla Memorial," *Columbia,* XXX (December, 1950), 19-20.

Anonymous. "The Legend of Marcus Whitman," *American Catholic Historical Researches,* XVIII (1901), 56-59.

Anonymous, "Religion in Western United States, 1824," *American Catholic Historical Researches,* X (1893), 146-159.

Beadle, H. M. "'The Story of Marcus Whitman' Refuted," *American Catholic Historical Researches,* XVI (1899), 187-197.

Behrmann, Peter, O.S.B. "The Story of St. Meinrad's Abbey," *Grail,* X (March, 1929), 487-516.

Bourne, Edward G. "The Legend of Marcus Whitman," *American Historical Review,* VI (January, 1901), 276-300.

Buchanan, Charles M. "Reverend Eugene Casimir Chirouse, O.M.I.," *Indian Sentinel,* I (January, 1918), 10-14.

Burns, R. Ignatius, S.J. "Coeur d'Alène Diplomacy in the Nez Percé War of 1877," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia,* LXIII (March, 1952), 40-41.

Churchman, The, XXXIII (March 3, 1877), 8, news item about Bishop Henry B. Whipple.

Council Fire, IV (February 1, 1880), 4, news item.

Crane, Royston Campbell. "Historical Items: Damage Claims for Attacks on Warren's Wagon Trains," *West Texas Historical Association Yearbook,* XXI (October, 1945), 72-74.

Crimmins, Martin L. "General Randolph B. Marcy's Last Tour of Texas," *West Texas Historical Association Yearbook,* XXV (October, 1949), 74-75.

"Documents from our Archives: Correspondence of Bishop Du Bourg with Propaganda," *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review,* III (January-April, 1921), 106-150.

Edwards, Martha L. "A Problem of Church and State in the 1870's," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XI (June, 1924), 37-53.

Elliott, Richard R. "Frederick Baraga Among the Ottawas," *American Catholic Quarterly Review,* XXI (January, 1896), 106-129.

———. "The Chippewas of Lake Superior," *ibid.,* XXI (April, 1896), 354-373.

———. "The Apostolate of Father Baraga Among the Chippewas and Whites of Lake Superior," *ibid.,* XXI (July, 1896), 596-617.

Forster, Ignatius, O.S.B. "Bishop Martin Marty, O.S.B., Apostle of the Sioux," *Indian Sentinel,* II (January, 1920), 7-10.

Garraghan, Gilbert J., S.J. "Some High Lights in Missouri's History," *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review,* III (October, 1921), 232-241.

———. "Father DeSmet, History Maker," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* VI (January, 1924), 174-178.

Gibbon, John. "Last Summer's Expedition Against the Sioux and its Great Catastrophe," *American Catholic Quarterly Review,* II (April, 1877), 271-304.

———. "Hunting Sitting Bull," *ibid.,* II (October, 1877), 665-694.

———. "The Pursuit of Joseph," *ibid.,* IV (April, 1879), 317-344.

Grey, F. W. "The Jesuits and New France in the Seventeenth Century," *American Catholic Quarterly Review,* XXI (July, 1896), 728-762.

Guilday, Peter. "Catholic Laymen of Action. General Charles Ewing," *Sign,* XV (March, 1936), 495.

Hanke, Lewis. "Pope Paul III and the American Indians," *Harvard Theological Review,* XXX (April, 1937), 65-102.

Hare, William H. "Seventh Annual Report" to Board of Managers, September 26, 1878, *The Spirit of Missions,* XLIII (1878), 476.

Hughes, William. "Reverend Jerome Hunt, O.S.B., Indian Missionary," *Indian Sentinel,* IV (January, 1924), 34.

———. "Charles S. Lusk Given Papal Honor," *ibid.,* VII (Spring, 1927), 53-54.

———. "Charles Lusk's Life and Death," *ibid.,* VIII (Fall, 1928), 172-173.

Ireland, John. "Life of the Rt. Rev. Joseph Cretin, First Bishop of the Diocese of St. Paul," *Acta et Dicta,* V (July, 1917), 3-66; *ibid.,* (July, 1918), 170-205.

Laugel, Giles, O.S.B. "Brother Giles' Story," *Grail,* XVII (May, 1935), 19-20; *ibid.,* (June, 1935), 58-59.

Les Missions Catholique. (Lyon, France), IX (December 29, 1877), 641, letter of the Reverend J. B. M. Genin, O.M.I.

Lusk, Charles S. "James H. McLaughlin, Friend of the Indian," *Indian Sentinel,* III (October, 1923), 152.

———. "A Retrospect of Fifty Years," *ibid.,* IV (January, 1924), 3-6.

Marshall, William I. "History vs. The Whitman Saved Oregon Story," *American Ecclesiastical Review,* XXXII (January, 1905), 12-16; *ibid.,* (February, 1905), 120-128.

Martin, William B. "Religious Ideas of American Indians," *Catholic University Bulletin,* X (January, 1904), 35-68; *ibid.,* (April, 1904), 225-245.

O'Connor, James. "Anti-Catholic Prejudice," *American Catholic Quarterly Review,* I (January, 1876), 5-21.

O'Hara, Edwin V. "Father DeSmet in the Ecclesiastical Province of St. Paul," *Acta et Dicta,* III (July, 1914), 290-305.

Palladino, L[awrence] B., S.J. "Historical Notes on the Flathead," *Indian Sentinel,* I (October, 1918), 6-16.

Robertson, James A. "Notes on Early Church Government in Spanish Florida," *Catholic Historical Review,* XVII (July, 1931), 151-174.

Rothensteiner, John. "The Flat Head and Nez Percé Delegation to St. Louis, 1831-1839," *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review,* II (October, 1920), 183-197.

———. "Early Missionary Efforts among the Indians in the Diocese of St. Louis," *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review,* II (April-July, 1920), 57-96.

Schurz, Carl. "Present Aspects of the Indian Problem," *North American Review,* CXXXIII (July, 1881), 1-24.

Shea, John Gilmary. "The Catholic Church in American History," *American Catholic Quarterly Review,* I (January, 1876), 148-173.

———. "What Right Has the Federal Government to Mismanage the Indians?," *ibid.,* VI (July, 1881), 520-541.

[Sherman, Ellen Ewing]. "Our New Indian Policy and Religious Liberty," *Catholic World,* XXVI (October, 1877), 91-104.

———. "A Glance at the Indian Question," *ibid.,* XXVI (November, 1877), 197-203.

Sievers, Harry J., S.J. "The Catholic Indian School Issue and the Presidential Election of 1892," *Catholic Historical Review,* XXXVIII (July, 1952), 129-155.

"Monsignor Stephan." *Indian Sentinel* (1902-1903), pp. 2-5.* This article had been reprinted from the *Catholic Standard and Times.*

Taelman, Louis, S.J. "Rev. L. B. Palladino, S.J.," *Indian Sentinel,* VII (Fall, 1927), 174-175.

Van der Donckt, Cyril. "The Founders of the Church in Idaho," *American Ecclesiastical Review,* XXXII (January, 1905), 1-18; (February, 1905), 123-133; (March, 1905), 280-291.

*The use of volume numbers for the *Indian Sentinel* commenced in 1918.

UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS

"Allocations recues du Gouvernement pour nos Missions Indiennes des Etats-Unis de 1874 à 1887." Copy from the archives of the Mother House of Sisters of Charity of Providence, Montreal.

Book of Sepultures. St. Louis, Missouri, "Old Cathedral," entries of October 31 and November 17, 1831.

Carlin, Sister Mary Angela, O.S.U. "The Attitude of the Republican Party Toward Religious Schools, 1875-1880." Unpublished master's thesis, The Catholic University of America, 1948.

Chroniques de la Providence Sts. Anges. Original is in the possession of the Sisters of Charity of Providence, Vancouver.

Donnelly, Joseph Peter, S.J. "The Liquor Traffic Among the Aborigines of the New Northwest, 1800-1860." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, St. Louis University, 1940.

Ewing, John K. M. Silver Spring, Maryland, unpublished biography of Charles Ewing.

Fitzgerald, Sister Mary Paul, S.C.L. "The Osage Missions: A Factor in the Making of Kansas." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, St. Louis University, 1936.

Ford, Sister Consuela Maria, S.H.N. "St. James' Mission Claim, Vancouver, Washington." Unpublished master's thesis, Seattle College, 1946.

"Historical Sketch of Indian Missions." Board of Indian Commissioners, Bulletin No. 280 (1927). (Mimeographed.)

Logsdon, Sister M. Imelda, O.S.B. "Monsignor William Henry Ketcham and the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions." Unpublished master's thesis, The Catholic University of America, 1949.

Murphy, Joseph Francis, O.S.B. "Monastic Centers of the Order of Saint Benedict in Oklahoma." Unpublished master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1942.

Schier, Sister M. Angela, S.S.N.D. "The History of Indian Missions in North Dakota, 1874-1938." Unpublished master's thesis, The Catholic University of America, 1938.

Sherman, Ellen Ewing. Diary. This is in the possession of Miss Eleanor Sherman Fitch, New York City.

———. "Documents for Presentation in Rome." This paper, which was dated at Baltimore, January 16, 1879, was a defense of the Catholic bureau; it also is in the possession of Miss Fitch.

Sherman, Paschal. "The Indian Policy of the United States." Unpublished master's thesis, The Catholic University of America, 1917.

Smith, Sister Mary Rosa, B.V.M. "The Government Policy Toward the Sioux Indians of Standing Rock Reservation." Unpublished master's thesis, The Catholic University of America, 1941.

Thomas, Sister M. Ursula, O.S.B. "The Catholic Church on the Oklahoma Frontier, 1824-1907." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, St. Louis University, 1938.

Thomas, Sister Marian Josephine, S.H.N. "Abbé Jean-Baptiste Abraham Brouillet, First Vicar General of the Diocese of Seattle." Unpublished master's thesis, Seattle University, 1950.

Weibel, Sister M. Hugoline, F.S.P.A. "The Federal Relations with the Winnebago Indians, 1833-1873." Unpublished master's thesis, The Catholic University of America, 1948.

NEWSPAPERS

Catholic

Baltimore *Catholic Mirror*
Boston *Pilot*
Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph*
Cincinnati *Wahrheitsfreund*
Cleveland *Catholic Universe*
Louisville *Catholic Advocate*
New York *Catholic Herald*
New York *Catholic Review*
New York *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register*
New York *Tablet*
Philadelphia *Catholic Standard*
Portland, Oregon, *Catholic Sentinel*
St. Louis *Die Amerika*
St. Louis *Register*
St. Louis *Western Watchman*
St. Paul *Northwestern Chronicle*
Washington *Catholic*

General

Baltimore *Sun*
Boise *Idaho Statesman*
Chicago *Times*
Chicago *Tribune*
Helena *Rocky Mountain Daily Gazette*
Lewiston *Idaho Signal*
Lewiston *Teller*
Minneapolis *Daily Tribune*
Mount Vernon, Ohio, *Banner*
New York *Herald*
New York *Sun*
New York *Times*
Philadelphia *Times*
St. Louis *Dispatch*
St. Louis *Evening Post*
St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*
St. Louis *Journal*
St. Paul *Dispatch*
San Antonio *Daily Express*
Tucson *Arizona Citizen*
Washington *Tribune*
Washington *Weekly Chronicle*

INDEX

MEANING OF INITIALS APPEARING IN TEXT SIGNIFYING CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS ORDERS OR CONGREGATIONS

PRIESTS OR BROTHERS

C. M.—Congregation of the Mission (Vincentians)
C. S. C.—Congregation of the Holy Cross
C. S. P.—Society of Missionary Priests of St. Paul the Apostle (Paulists)
C. Ss. R.—Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (Redemptorists)
O. C. S. O.—The Order of Cistercians of the Strict Observance (Trappists)
O. F. M.—Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
O. F. M. Cap.—Order of Friars Minor Capuchin (Capuchins)
O. M. I.—Oblates of Mary Immaculate
O. P —Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
O. S. B.—Order of St. Benedict (Benedictines)
S. J.—Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
S. S.—Society of Priests of St. Sulpice (Sulpicians)
S. V. D.—Society of the Divine Word

NUNS OR SISTERS

B. V. M.—Sister of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary
C. S. C.—Sisters of the Holy Cross and of the Seven Dolors
F. S. P. A.—Franciscan Sisters of Perpetual Adoration
G. N. S. H.—Grey Nuns of the Sacred Heart
O. P.—Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
O. S. B.—Order of St. Benedict
O. S. F.—Order of St. Francis
O. S. U.—Order of St. Ursula (Ursulines)
S. C. L.—Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth
S. H. N.—Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary
S. N. D.—Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur
S. S. N. D.—School Sisters of Notre Dame

INDEX

Abel, Annie Heloise, considered Indian removal good but hasty,
Abenakis, Druillettes missionary to, 6
Acosta, Joseph, six-volume work for missionaries, 3
Adams, John Quincy, President favored gradual removal of Indi
Aegidius, Brother, O.S.B., at Standing Rock, 1876, 235 *n*
Agencies, assigned according to geographical propinquity, 36; not keep promise about, 68; Catholics dissatisfied with one-ten Mesplié anticipated having twenty nine, 78; 1872 meeting cussed reassignment of, 79; few Catholic because claims i presented, 106; Catholics had eight in 1873, 109; unchange 117; Devil's Lake best of, 246; no numerical increase of Cat in 1880 promise of redistribution of, 294 f.; Catholics secur crease in, 328
Alaska, permission for importation of sacramental wine, 100, 270 wanted to visit Indians in, 165
Alden, E. H., Indian agent discharged, 261
Alemany, Joseph S., O.P., authorized Deshon to represent in W 74; offered $100 for expenses of Deshon, 122; congratulations 128; thought funds best raised through lectures, 142 f.; neve small donations through societies, 144; seeks establishment Valley mission, 148; again suggested lectures for financing bu
Allan, John, Indian agent requested priest, 1791, 9 f.
Altham, John, S.J., asked Indians' permission to land, 7
Alton (Illinois), Diocese of, $4,500 collection in, 209; *Freeman'* banned in, 210
Ambassador, clerical, Druillettes to English colonies, 6 f.; list of for Druillettes' mission, 7 *n*; DeSmet to Sioux warriors, 24; Kill-Eagle and Sioux, 230; Marty denied status of, 239
American Board (of Commissioners of Foreign Missions), T retary of, 35; Greene advised about Spalding, 55; revision distasteful, 306
American Catholic Quarterly Review, wanted disclosure of India corruption, 194 *n*
American Protective Association, fought aid to Catholic schools,
Anderson, Henry James, New York physician and philanthropis
Annals of the Catholic Indian Missions of America, semi-annual of Catholic bureau, 165; also in German language, 165; 18 listed donors, 168; Bishop Blanchet suggested suspension of, bons' endorsement of bureau in, 192; showed bureau's 187 and expenditures, 195; recorded Alton collection of $4,500, 2 French donations, 216; McMaster was infuriated by, 218; t dictines reacted differently to, 237 f.; published account o peace mission, 242
Annuities, discouraged Indians working, 30; whites favored m probably stolen by Hughes, 252
Anti-Catholicism, in Spalding's charges, 54-57; reported in Far sometimes Brunot did not conceal his, 105 *n*; Grant and charged with, 121 *n*; Grant opposed to religious schools, 1 Mexico's statehood delayed by, 153 *n*; Catholics hampered Civil War, 167; McMaster charged Agent Beckwith with, American Protective Association, 343

Apaches, Colyer charged with treating arbitrarily, 59
Appeasement of Indians, of belligerent California Indians, 1852, 22; by annuities and rations, 30; by money annuities during 1870's, 41
Arthur, Chester A., 21st President selected cabinet officers, 322; O'Connor received friendly reception from, 324; Corrigan asked to intercede with, 333
Avilés, (Pedro) Menéndez de, made first permanent settlement in U. S., 4
Ayllón, (Lucas Vásquez de), accompanied by Dominican missionaries in 1526, 3

B

Badin, Francis Vincent, itinerant Indian missionary, 12
Baltes, Peter J., Bishop of Alton, 209; prohibited reading of *Freeman's Journal,* 210
Baltimore, Bishop, Archbishop of, *see* Carroll, Spalding, M. J., Bayley, Gibbons
Bancroft, George, historian paid tribute to Catholic missionaries, 5; credited Catholics with oldest Michigan settlement, 87
Baptists, contacted by Colyer, 35
Baraga, Frederick, Michigan missionary bishop from Austria, 17-19; Indian mission map of, 18; summary of Bishop's life, 19 *n*
Barotti, Felix, priest succeeded Brouillet as bureau's treasurer, 285; succeeded by Jones, 319
Bayley, James Roosevelt, Archbishop of Baltimore, 1872, 72; admitted unfamiliarity with Indian affairs, 74; apprehensive of justice from Grant's administration, 75; needed advice before appointing Washington representative, 79 f.; formally appointed Ewing Catholic Commissioner, 95; requests Brouillet remain in Washington, 98; despondent about Catholic bureau, 101; thought bureau would be useless, 102; illness prevented seeing McCloskey, 103; expected little from bureau, 107; thought bureau would intensify opposition, 108; most generous of hierarchy to bureau, 124; frequent use of letter by, 125; congratulations to Ewing, 127; unsuccessful in interesting wealthy in Indians, 129; financed Brouillet's return to Washington, 1874, 137; appointed Mrs. Sherman for Pope's collection, 156 *n*; most consistent contributor among hierarchy, 159; victim of deception according to McMaster, 187; authorized Catholic bureau, 326 f.; action endorsed by plenary council, 341
Beckwith, Paul, agent at Devil's Lake, 1875, 224
Belknap, Fort, Montana, Sunday Mass denied to Catholic children, 99
Belknap, William W., negotiations relative sacramental wine, 100; charged with selling Indian trading posts, 160
Benedictines, undertake work at Standing Rock, 228-237; motto applied to Indians, 245; aided financially by Catholic bureau, 250 *n*; four clerics at Standing Rock, 252; $40 total monthly wage for four, 257; O'Connor feared withdrawal of, 258 *n*; number increased for Dakota missions, 270; Stephan became critical of, 313
Benedictine Sisters, first sisters in present South Dakota, 241 *n*; expected at Standing Rock, 246; opened girls' school at Standing Rock, 254; taught girls household arts, 303
Benton, Thomas H., Missouri senator praised DeSmet's influence, 21
Berry, Montgomery R., Catholic agent of Fort Hall Reservation, 65 f.; Delano suggested for superintendent, 66
Berthold, Fort, suggested by Sully for Sioux, 225
Blackbird, Ottawa chief petitioned Congress for missionaries, 11 f.

Blaine, James G., R. C. Walker brother-in-law of, 81; introduced legislation against religious schools, 152 *n*

Blanchet, A. M. A. (Magloire), missionary became Bishop of Nesqually, 43; went to Northwest in 1847, 72; appointed Brouillet agent in Washington, 73; could not pay Brouillet's expenses, 97-99; wanted all dioceses to support Brouillet, 123; demanded return of Brouillet, 135; undecided about Washington work for Brouillet, 138; permits Brouillet to return to Washington, 139; issued *celebret,* 139 *n*; angered at Delano's decision, 150; unwilling to allow lectures in Nesqually, 158; unfavorable to petition to Lyons, 190; resigned see in 1879, 205; living in retirement, 330

Blanchet, Francis Norbert, missionary became Archbishop of Oregon City, 42; ascribes faults to Grant's subordinates, 45 *n*; criticism and praise for letter of, 50 f.; second protest to Delano by, 52-54; wanted to represent entire hierarchy, 58 f.; temporarily represented by Maguire, 60 f.; wanted DeSmet as representative, 61; complained at bishops' failure to protest, 61 *n*; efforts to obtain Washington agent, 1872, 62; made progress toward Washington representation, 68 f.; approves Deshon as Washington agent, 73; exemplified efforts of many bishops, 76; disapproved layman as representative, 81; continued letters after Ewing's appointment, 85; no result from lengthy petition of, 96; urged adoption of Brouillet's proposals, 140; sent replacement for Brouillet, 141; defended bureau and Brouillet to Gibbons, 191; wanted hierarchy to assume bureau's expenses, 199; handicapped as Catholic spokesman, 326; living in retirement, 330

Board of Control of Indian Fund, supervised Indian Fund, 176; Healy's presidency evidence of integrity, 187; continued supervision, 319

Board of Indian Commissioners, organized May 26, 1869, 26; no actual power given to, 30; held whites responsible for Indian excesses, 31; had advisory powers only, 32; first joint conference with missionary societies, 37 f.; met with missionary representatives, 1872, 59 f.; lack of authority and power exposed, 60; second meeting with missionary societies, 1873, 78; Protestant because Catholics lacked Washington representative, 104; threatened resignation if Catholic appointed, 108; reported 33 non-Catholic agencies unfilled, 1873, 111; held fourth conference with missionaries, 1875, 144; invited no Catholic to 1875 conference, 145; hectic meeting in 1880, 290-295; public and official interest declined in, 291-294; 1881 meeting with missionary societies, 305 f.; collapse averted at 1881 meeting, 321; 1882 meeting asked Peace Plan continue, 321 f.

Bogy, Lewis V., Senator from Missouri preferred War Department, 161; reported Nebraska senators vetoed Mallet, 233

Bonin, Louis, Grey Nuns' chaplain at Devil's Lake, 195; taught Sioux, 223; succeeded by Benedictines, 246 f.; relieved by Claude Ebner, 255

Boyle, Francis E., pastor of St. Peter's in capital, 184

Boyle, William H., day school system condemned by agent, 39

Brondel, John B., first Bishop of Helena, 342

Brooks, Edwin J., rejected Catholic offer for school, 299 f.; powerful in Indian Bureau, 304

Brouillet, Jean-Baptiste Abraham, involved in Whitman massacre, 55-56; helped Spalding escape, 56; absolved Delano of attacking him, 57; Mesplié recommended for Washington work, 72 f.; promoted Washington representation in 1864, 80; early promoter of Indian schools, 82 f.; representative of Blanchets in Washington, 97; wanted in Washington and Nesqually, 98; bishops did not give living expenses, 99;

energetically promoted establishment of bureau, 100 f.; requested two favors of hierarchy, 101; estimated $4,000 annual expense for bureau, 107; reminded Ewing of McCloskey's promise, 129; negotiations to permit return to Washington, 135-140; of invaluable assistance to Ewing, 138; uncertain of returning to Washington, 1874, 139; prepared lecture to finance bureau, 140; proposed Catholics give ten cents annually, 141; sought contributions from schools and societies, 142; collected $260 in San José, 1875, 144; investigated Round Valley case, 1875, 145; expected evangelizing freedom for all religions, 147 f.; solicited hierarchy for contributions, 1875, 153; expected donations from women's organizations, 154; received $21.00 from Cincinnati auxiliary, 155 *n*; gave lecture in St. Louis, 156; started Philadelphia missionary unit, 156; wanted school children to support bureau, 157; suggested Jesuit maintain school through lectures, 158; employed varied publicity schemes, 162; thought of making missionary association international, 167; treasurer of missionary association, 176; bureau's financial methods defended by, 177; assured Robot of all possible assistance, 179; initiated movement for Ewing's papal decoration, 181; answered McMaster's demand that bureau disappear, 185; wanted Lyons organization to help bureau, 189; government payments sent to, 195 f.; discovered Genin erred in his information, 197; visited White Earth after Tomazin's expulsion, 198; emphasized caution without change, 199; chaplain at Providence Hospital, 200; invited Marty to visit bureau, 1878, 202 f.; preferred Indian Bureau in Interior Department, 204; Bishop Blanchet confirmed his faith in, 205; reported 5 priests tended 20,000 Indians, 207; had three reasons motivating European trip, 211; sent copies of petition to bishops, 213; maintained interest in bureau while abroad, 214; concern over school allotments, 215; sought canonical establishment of bureau's work, 216; arranged for Grey Nuns to teach, 222 f.; did not consider Burke good agent, 232 *n*; learned Foffa gave hostile information, 235 *n*; impressed by motto of Benedictines, 245; tried to solve Hughes' problems, 252; paid priests' traveling expenses, 255; before European trip visited Standing Rock, 261; urged provision for winter feeding, 262 *n*; made concession to appease Hayt, 264; appointed director of bureau, 1879, 285; requested permission for another school, 298 f.; addressed three conventions, 299-301; took exception to Marty's proposal, 311; ill during 1883, 332; died in 1884, 334; funeral and tributes, 336

Browne, J. Ross, Brouillet's pamphlet included in report of, 56

Brulé, *see* Spotted Tail; *also* Rosebud

Brunot, Felix R., Chairman of Board of Indian Commissioners, 26; met with Shoshone Indians, 1872, 60; opposed Chippewa transfer to Catholics, 88; restricted rights of religious denominations, 88 *n*; quoted agent correctly but incompletely, 89; ignores Catholic missionaries in speech, 104 f.; ignored Ewing as agent for Catholics, 120; wanted limited racial equality in laws, 274 *n*

Bruté, Simon, Bishop of Vincennes, 16

Buford, Fort, Marty started alone for, 240; Marty thought poor country for whites, 242

Bujett, Alexander, Osage chief asked for Catholic teachers, 134

Bull, Sitting, *see* Sitting Bull

Burchard, John L., had Osuna arrested, 1874, 146; admits facts of Osuna's deposition, 148

Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, in 1879 Catholic bureau became, 285; 1879 receipts less than expenses, 295 *n*; permission for school refused, 299; long struggle ended happily, 307; Marty's circular letter omitted

mention of, 310; incorporated, 1881, 319; never threatened withdrawal from Peace Policy, 321; turning point reached, 1882, 324; primarily due to Ewing and Brouillet, 326; purpose insufficiently publicized, 328; religious liberty and schools principal achievements, 328-331; endorsed by Third Plenary Council, 340-342; *see also* Catholic bureau
Bureau of Indian Affairs, creation of, 1775, 8; established 1824, 14; to Department of Interior, 1849, 14; *see also* Indian Bureau
Burke, John, named Standing Rock agent, 226; wrote Seidenbusch for missionaries, 228; displaced by military at Standing Rock, 232; arrested by Colonel Carlin, 233; gave Marty food, 234; accepted $350 note from Marty, 250 *n*
Byrne, William, administrator of Vicariate of Nebraska, 227; temporarily admitted Benedictines to Dakota, 228 f.; died in 1880, 296 f.

C

Cady, William, Indian Bureau clerk, 35
Calhoun, John C., Secretary of War directed Indian affairs, 12; sympathetic to De Bourg's plan, 13
California, Mexican treatment of Indians in, 19; Ewing petitioned for agencies in, 119 *n*; Cox intended Catholics administer missions in, 129 *n*; Brouillet's work in, 142-144
Callaghan, James F., editor of Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph*, 186 *n*
Callan, James W., rejected as Standing Rock agent, 130 *n*, 226
Calvert, Leonard, colonial governor of Maryland, 7
Canada, early French missionaries in, 5; Blanchets to Pacific Northwest from, 43; Grey Nuns to U. S. from, 222 f.; haven for fleeing Sitting Bull, 241; archbishop there had no missionaries, 250; chaplain sent to Oregon from, 254; Marty wanted agreement made with, 280; Sitting Bull's return dissolved problem with, 316 f.
Cancer, Luis, O.P., proto-martyr of Florida, 4
Carlin, William P., Lt. Col. at Standing Rock, 232; arrested ex-agent Burke, 233
Carlisle, Pa., in 1879 Indian school opened at, 287; successful school program at, 302
Carroll, John, proposal to Washington by Bishop, 9; provided priest for Maine Indians, 10; Richard reported about Ottawas, 11; called Washington's attention to Indians, 325
Carroll, Mark K., bishop blessed memorial to Padilla, 4 *n*
Casserly, Eugene, Senator from California, 43; resigned as senator in 1872, 63; suggested wealthy group support bureau, 143
Catalda, Joseph M., S.J., protested agent's discrimination, 99; missionary at Nez Percé reservation, 113; advised to maintain school through lectures, 158; lamented McMaster's criticism, 195; charged with causing trouble by Monteith, 207
Catholic bureau, co-operation with Grant object of, 103 f.; accomplishments and disappointments of 1873, 117; Bayley officially establishes, 118; western bishops asked for, 119; without delegate at 1874 conference, 120; western hierarchy promised little financial support, 122 f.; bishops supposedly promised $4,000 annually, 123; 1874 elections favorable to, 135; paid Brouillet's return expense, 139; publications used advantageously, 162; used schools in civilizing Indian, 171; claimed credit for greater governmental appropriations, 172; received no special recognition from McMaster, 173; protested McMaster's fund-raising scheme, 175; Robot apparently misunderstood function of, 179;

satirically called "Grand-Junction-Ebenezer-Society," 181; attacked regarding contributions to missions, 183; Boyle defended and described office of, 184; threatened with revelation of scandal, 185; defended by St. Onge, 187; said to lack authorization, 1878, 189; Bishop Blanchet proposed reforms in, 190 f.; should confine activities to original purpose, 191; "P.H.D." accepted Gibbons' endorsement of, 193; Bonin defended, 195; called "Bogus Bureau" by McMaster, 196; severed relations with Tomazin, 198; scored for co-operating with Indian Office, 200, 204; Stephan loyal supporter, 204; work continued despite McMaster's attacks, 206; appeal to Rome, 1878, 208; received $4,500 from Bishop Baltes' collection, 209; had agent in France seeking donations, 216; summary of McMaster's skirmish with, 219 f.; product of expediency close to necessity, 221; secured approval of two more cooks, 256 *n*; helped by Roman approval and Gibbons, 273; *see also* Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions
Catholic Church, *see* various organizations of
Catholic Indian Fund, *see* Indian Fund
Catholic Indian Missionary Association, organized in Washington, 1875, 154; organized in Cincinnati and St. Louis, 155; collections in Cincinnati and St. Louis, 155 *n*; received newspaper support, 155 *n*; organized in Philadelphia, 1876, 156; extended to 12 dioceses, 1876, 157; not successful and enduring everywhere, 157; saved cause otherwise lost, 159; asked to send delegates to Cleveland, 162 *n*, group leaders received *Annals*, 165; Philadelphia unit received special indulgence, 167; misusing funds charged to St Louis, 176; sole legitimate channel for helping missions, 180; in Cincinnati collected $32, 1877, 186 *n*; Robot's and McMaster's criticism was injuring, 186 *n*; similar to Propagation of Faith organization, 211; Marty wanted soldiers to join, 238; Marty petitioned prayers of, 240; in St Louis Marty spoke to, 268; all collections handled by bureau, 308; supplied means for operating bureau, 327
Catholic Mirror, called "crooked *Mirror*" by McMaster, 187; praised bureau's work of charity, 218
Catholic Standard, recounted meeting of Philadelphia auxiliary, 157 *n*; refused St. Onge's pro-bureau article, 202
Catholic Telegraph, reported meeting of hierarchy in Cincinnati, 128; rejoiced in vindication of bureau, 186; called attacks on Ewing family unsupported, 201
Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America, endorsed bureau's work, 300 f.
Catholic Union of New York, supposed sole support of bureau, 124; failed to fulfill expectations, 125; left Ewing's request unanswered, 1874, 137
Catholic Young Men's National Union, Hayes received delegation from, 291-294; petitioned President Hayes, 300
Cayuse Indians, killed Marcus Whitman at Waiilatpu, 55 f.
Chandler, Zachariah, Secretary of Interior, 1875, 151; approved Hughes as agent, 233
Chapelle, Placide L., preached at Brouillet's funeral, 336
Chaplain, army, Mesplié accepted position of, 67 *n*; Robot former French, 174; during Civil War Stephan was, 252; Stephan received pension as former, 270; injuries forced Stephan's retirement, 313
Charity, Delano appealed to Blanchet's, 52; of Ewing toward opponents, 104; of wealthy Catholics insufficient, 129; preservation of rights incentive for, 140 f.; McMaster proclaimed disgust for ostentatious, 175; of Mrs. Sherman prompted donation, 186; of Catholics cooled by McMaster's attacks, 202; of poor expressed through prayer, 209; Rome's endorsement would inspire, 211; bureau called work of divine, 218; missionaries benefited from O'Connor's, 235; Grey Nuns gave

$400, 247; of O'Connor unexcelled, 258 *n*; Brouillet sought good in Kelley's appointment, 262; Indians drew government into private, 325
Chatard, Francis S. (Silas M.), rector of North American College, 160; returned to America for health, 1877, 182 *n*; consecrated Bishop of Vincennes, 1878, 190 *n*, 245
Chebal, John, missionary with Chippewas praised, 87
Chehalis, tribe claimed by Archbishop Blanchet, 44
Cherokees, legal victory but actual defeat for, 14 f.
Cheverus, John, French refugee missionary in Maine, 10
Chippewas, Petition for agency of, 1873, 85-91; Minnesota reservation predominantly Catholic, 86, ninety-nine per cent Catholic, 1870, 87; Deshon made strenuous effort for, 92-97; rejection of petition for, 95; Ewing's claims followed Petition for, 109; charges renewed as in Petition for, 126; priest said 3,000 Catholics, 131
Chirouse, Eugene C., O.M.I., first contract school opened by, 25; conducted Indian school, 82; favored Indian Office in War Department, 217 *n*
Chrysostom, Father, O.S.B., *see* Foffa, Chrysostom
Church and state, Congress provided for Indian welfare, 9; 1803 treaty provided support for priest, 10; missionary societies called branch of government, 126; imposing unwanted religion would lead to, 140; Burchard claims separation of, 148; friendly relations despite protests, 260; finally agreed education best method, 286; Teller repudiated religious groups nominating agents, 323
Ciquard, François, Sulpician Indian missionary in Maine, 10
Civil War, quashed interest in Indian welfare, 21; reconstruction not over in 1869, 29; Homestead Act legislation of, 41; Ewing and Cowen were generals during, 133 *n*; McMaster opposed continuation of, 173; Stephan distinguished as chaplain in, 252; *see also* "Copperhead"
"Civilization Fund," information about sent to Bishop Fenwick, 12
Clapin, Sister Rose, G.N.S.H., superior of sisters at Devil's Lake, 222 f.; asked increased appropriation, 255; regarded McLaughlin as valuable employee, 256; denied government rations, 289
Clark, William, St. Louis Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 17
Cloud, Red, *see* Red Cloud
Clum, Henry R., acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 91
Colaneri, Augustine M., James O'Connor's secretary, 324
Collection, Alemany permitted no, 142-144; by Malo netted fifty cents, 158 f.; McMaster's plan for Robot's, 174 f.; consumed by salaries and rent, 183; Brouillet's scheme for national, 212 f.; for Robot successful, 220; suggested in German-speaking parishes, 257; not possible in New York, 258; by Marty in eastern states, 267-271; Marty proposed annual, 309-311; Marty's plan ultimately adopted, 312; at Rome hierarchy discussed annual, 338 f.; plenary council fixed annual, 341 f.; 1887 first annual, 343
Colonial period, Indian relationships during, 8
Columbano O'Loane, O.S.B., missionary who joined Robot, 186
Colville Reservation, Bishop Blanchet made no nomination for, 44; John A. Sims agent, 126 *n*; Protestant missionary authorized entering, 147 f.
Colyer, Vincent, Secretary of Indian commissioners, 35; tribes assigned as recommended by, 36; Cox followed recommendations of, 46; arbitrary treatment of Apaches charged to, 59; Ewing's discourse on map by, 90
Commissioner, Catholic, Ewing formally appointed by Bayley, 95; McMaster's objection to title, 188 f.; Ewing reappointed by Gibbons, 192
Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Elbert Herring was first, 14; Ely S. Parker, 42; Henry R. Clum acting, 91; alone judges exclusion from

reservation, 146; under Hayes less favorable to Catholics, 272; in 1880 Trowbridge appointed, 291; revoked 1880 ruling against religious liberty, 307; *see also* N. G. Taylor, Parker, F. A. Walker, E. P. Smith, J. Q. Smith, Hayt, Trowbridge, Price
Conference of bishops, in Cincinnati in May, 1874, 128; at Cincinnati recommended annual collection, 1884, 339
Confraternity of St. Michael, project of McMaster, 174 f.; students directed away from, 179 f.; McMaster's private undertaking to support Robot, 185; not mentioned in *Annals*, 237
Congregation of the Propaganda, has letters of Bishop Du Bourg, 12 *n*; Roman curia division governing missionary areas, 212 *n*; expected episcopal approval of Brouillet's plan, 213; recommended bureau to bishops, 215; refuted McMaster by endorsing bureau, 219; American hierarchy met with, 337-339
Congregationalists, Indian missionaries in New England, 7; contacted by Colyer, 35; protested restriction on religious liberty, 288-290; ordered to leave Devil's Lake, 305; Strieby dissatisfied with Peace Policy, 322
Congress, enactment concerning Indians in 1789, 8; provision for Indian welfare by, 9; closed Indian service to army officers, 27; thwarted Grant's plan for army officers, 34; did not investigate Spalding's charges, 57
Constitutional Convention, conferred power to deal with Indians, 8
Continental Congress, created Bureau of Indian Affairs, 8; Indian treaties begun by, 39 f.
Conversion of Indians, purpose of Spanish monarchs, 3; concern of French kings and explorers, 5; Druillettes successful in Maine, 6; Piscataways and Patuxents in XVII century, 7; successful among Chippewas, 131; steps followed at Devil's Lake, 256; save life before, 281; entirely voluntary, 287
"Copperhead," McMaster imprisoned for being, 173; paper of McMaster suppressed by government, 201
Corbett, Henry W., Oregon senator made statement favoring Catholics, 43; blamed for trouble in Washington, 63
Cornoyer, Narcisse, Archbishop Blanchet credited with appointment of, 47; right to discharge had been challenged, 100
Corrigan, Michael A., Coadjutor Archbishop of New York, 312; asked to intercede for Ewing's widow, 333
Council, church, in 1870 hierarchy attended Vatican, 46, 325; preparations for plenary, 337-340; *see also* Third Plenary Council, Conference of bishops
Court, upheld Cherokees, 14 f.; of New Mexico praised Catholic Indians, 22; Catholic Indians praised by Supreme, 23 *n*; held Indian relations difficult, 38 f.; legislation above treaty ruled by Supreme, 40
Cowen, Benjamin Rush, didn't become Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 79; Grant directed Deshon to, 93; Assistant Secretary of Interior, 133; Union Civil War general, 133 *n*; Ewing appealed to, 149
Cox, Jacob D., exulted over board's personnel, 26; Secretary of the Interior under Grant, 33; agency assignments received in 1870, 90; said California missions belonged to Catholics, 120 *n*
Cramsie, John W., suggested as agent at Devil's Lake, 296; confirmed as Devil's Lake Agent, 321
Creeks, disgruntled by removal, 15
Cretin, Joseph, missionary from France, 1838, 15; bishop obtains educational grant for Winnebagoes, 17
Custer, George A., General killed by Sioux, 161, 230; Marty wrote from room occupied by, 240

D

Dahlgren, Madeline Vinton, elected president of Washington women's organization, 154 f.; widow of Admiral John A. B. Dahlgren, 204 *n*; Brouillet sought to rekindle zeal of, 319
Dakota Territory, exemplification of all agencies found in, 221; two priests to, 255; 21 Catholic missionaries, 1878, 257; in 1878 success was greatest in, 266; Marty made Vicar Apostolic of, 272
Dallas, Alexander J., Catholic mission work helped by Major, 103 *n*; visited Bayley, 104 *n*
Davis, Edmund J., General Sherman rebuked Texas Governor, 49
Daxacher, John, Nebraska priest visited Standing Rock, 228
Delano, Columbus, Secretary of the Interior, 37; made important declarations at 1871 meeting, 38; asked archbishops to approve DeSmet, 46 f.; made ironical reply to Archbishop Blanchet, 51 f.; sent Spalding's pamphlet to Senate, 56 *n;* delays decision about Klamath, 65 f.; proposed superintendency instead of agency, 66; refuses Fort Hall to Catholics, 67; promises readjustment of agency assignments, 77; promises overhauling of Indian Department, 84; refused Chippewa Agency request, 88; declared political considerations were paramount, 91; appeased Deshon and Ewing with promises, 95 f.; requested designation of Indians claimed, 109; declared he feared Protestant reprisals, 140; ordered investigation of Osuna's brutal treatment, 149 *n;* still refused St. James' Mission claim, 150; resigned from cabinet, 1875, 151; uncertainty concerning character of, 151 *n*; subjected agency nominations to political expediency, 170
De Meester, Peter, S.J., failed to establish Grand River mission, 225
Demers, Modeste, Canadian missionary became bishop, 42; offered first Mass at Seattle, 43 *n*
Department of the Interior, Treasury, or War, *see* Interior; Treasury; War
Deshon, George, C.S.P., used influence with his friend Grant, 67 f.; roommate of Grant at West Point, 68 *n*; willingness to negotiate regarding agencies, 73 f.; rendered optimistic by interviews with Grant, 77; said 1872 meeting never discussed reassignment, 79 *n*; wrote hierarchy about Washington representation, 80; proposes Ewing as representative, 84; said Ewing loved his religion, 100; retained interest in Indian affairs, 117 *n*; temporary representative of bishops, 1872, 122, 146; received badly worded invitation to conference, 144 f.
DeSmet, Pierre-Jean, S.J., Belgian Jesuit novice, 13; first mission west of Rockies by, 20; different spellings of his name, 20 *n*; praised by General Sherman, 23 f.; Sioux war halted by, 24; retained Indian interest in old age, 24 f.; commended by Archbishop P. R. Kenrick, 24 *n*; appeal printed in board report, 36 f.; represented Catholics at 1871 conference, 38; unable to attend 1870 conferences, 46; in feeble health in 1869, 46 *n*; report on 1871 meeting, 47 f.; appealed personally to Parker, 49 f.; Delano and Blanchet differed about, 51 f.; attempted to stop erroneous account, 57; in Europe in behalf of Indians, 59 f.; still wanted as hierarchy's representative, 61; enlisted in Fort Hall Agency dispute, 66 f.; unable to become Washington agent, 69-71; died in 1873, 71; never mentioned Ewing's appointment, 85; interested in Sioux at Standing Rock, 225; greatest achievement of, 239
Des Moines, Iowa, 152
Devil's Lake Reservation, in Dakota Territory needed teaching sisters, 135; smoothly functioning by 1876, 222-224; spirit and productivity improved at, 244; best conducted agency was, 246; banner reservation, 255-257; chapel crowded for religious service, 266; Conregationalist

missionary came to, 288-290; drunkeness eradicated, 300; no Catholic protest about Protestant missionary, 305; Brouillet in snowstorm at, 334; *see also* Totten, Fort
Dissenting sects, explanation of use of term, 52-53
Dominicans, XVI century missionaries, 3
Donagan, Joseph F., bureau's fiscal agent for St. Louis, 177
Donations, left bureau's finances unimproved, 1875, 153 f.; Washington auxiliary agreed upon $1 00 annually, 154; to Marty by New Englanders, 269; O'Beirne gave McCarthy $20, 277; ten acres for Malo's school, 287; from Catholic Total Abstinence Union, 300 f.; various classes of contributors, 318 f.
Druillettes, Gabriel, S.J., missionary to Maine Abenakis, 6; failed to secure alliance, 7
Du Bourg, Louis William, bishop travels on behalf of Indians, 12 f.
Duchesne, Philippine, R.S.C.J., works with Potawatomi, 13

E

Ebner, Claude, O.S.B., relieved Bonin at Devil's Lake, 255
Education, treaty provided priest give, 10; annual congressional appropriation begun, 1819, 11; annual appropriation revoked by Congress, 1873, 11 *n*; requirements for federal allotment for, 12; government slowly expanded Indian, 25; nearest mission recommended for Indian, 31; in government school prevented church attendance, 131; Ewing wanted national collection to finance, 194; by Grey Nuns, 223; outstanding at Devil's Lake, 224; at Standing Rock improved, 253 f.; Catholics had expanded remarkedly in, 273 f.; successful Catholic program of, 328-331; *see also* Industrial school, School, Teachers
Einsiedeln, Switzerland, Marty joined Benedictines at, 230; *Annals* sent to abbey at, 237
Elder, William H., succeeded Purcell at Cincinnati, 339
Election, presidential, Meslié's prediction not verified in 1872, 64; Meslié's amended forecast, 68 *n*; of 1876 lacked violent anti-Catholic attacks, 161; Hayes reform candidate, 169
English colonists, no alliance with French against Iroquois, 6 f.; policy of Indian extermination, 7; Indian enemy alien to, 8
Ensign, Fletcher, indicted for fraud on Blackfoot Agency, 121; expelled priest from Blackfoot Agency, 1873, 121 *n*
Episcopalians, citizens' supervisory board proposed by, 26; ample funds for Indian work, 129; assigned two Sioux agencies, 251; priests cautioned about antagonism toward, 252; Ewing predicted closing of schools by, 258; sharply curtailed educational program, 263; active at Spotted Tail Reservation, 271; ruling forced Ogalalas to follow, 279; individual shortcomings not chargable to, 283 *n*; school returned to government by, 284; received federal aid for school, 309; little success at Dakota reserves, 331
European trip, by Brouillet started in November, 1878, 211; ended with his return in 1879, 216; correspondence resumed on homeward journey, 285
Ewing, Charles, Lamy wanted recommendation from, 74; was of distinguished Ohio family, 78; promptly embarked upon work, 83; appointed Washington representative by Bayley, 84 f.; appointment not immediately known by all, 85; refuted Brunot's claim about Chippewas, 88 f.; Chippewa petition first and best effort, 90; worked with Deshon for Chippewa Agency, 92-96; note left during interview with Grant, 94 *n*; formally appointed Catholic Commissioner by Bayley, 95; motivated by love of his faith, 100; takes vacation with family, 101; Bay-

ley discussed Indian situation with, 102 *n*; efforts delayed by Panic of 1873, 103; attributes past hostility to ignorance, 104; blamed higher officials for opposition, 106; could only shame administration into concessions, 108; told Bayley he would head bureau, 109; proposed replacing cleric with layman, 114 *n*; appointed official representative of hierarchy, 118; regaining agencies primary purpose of, 119; took no compensation as commissioner, 121 *f.*; sent circular letter for Catholic support, 125-127; feared white Catholics would be persecuted, 128 *n*; assumed blame for Osage fiasco, 134; personal finances difficult to determine, 137 *n*; expected $1,000 annually from some bishops, 142; seemed slow in corresponding, 143 *n*; took legal exception to Osuna's arrest, 146; friendly relations continued between Grant and, 152; interested in New Mexico governorship, 1875, 153; Purcell called noble Catholic layman, 153 *n*; asked encouragement for missions' lay friends, 159 f.; called meeting of Robot, Jesuits, Osages, 178; factors governing papal award to, 181 f.; demanded McMaster substantiate criticism with facts, 186 f.; McMaster tried to belittle influence of, 188 f.; asked endorsement of bureau from Gibbons, 191 f.; reappointed Catholic Commissioner, 1878, 192; McMaster's target in indictment of bureau, 193; asked to write magazine article, 194; unwilling to battle McMaster with slander, 195; filed petition for White Earth Agency, 198 *n*; ordered to suppress McMaster's "copperhead" paper, 201; successfully answered Johnston's complaint against Marty, 218; made able defense of Marty, 233 f.; stated purpose of *Annals*, 237; negotiated regarding Marty's peace mission, 238-240; formally proposed Dakota industrial school, 245; lawyer interceded for Stephan with, 253; wanted educational program expanded, 258; made compilation of Indian laws, 274-276; rumored for official appointments, 291-294; died in 1883, 332; tributes to personality and character, 333

Ewing, Mrs. Charles, member of Washington auxiliary, 155; needed help after husband's death, 333; *see also* Miller, Virginia

Ewing, Thomas, Jr., called "blatherskite congressman" by McMaster, 201; McMaster claimed Missouri hated, 202; with brother Charles at death, 332

Ewing, Thomas (Sr.), had been senator and cabinet officer, 78; McMaster attacked politics and religion of, 200 f.

Expenses, of Brouillet's trip forwarded by bishop, 98; $4,000 estimate of bureau's annual, 107; Nesqually could not bear Brouillet's, 123; exceeded funds of bureau, 130; Brouillet's poverty during trip, 136; Brouillet devised code to reduce, 215; Brouillet offered to assume missionary, 228; Brouillet promised Marty only traveling, 230; Marty requested $800 for traveling, 241; of $150 for Marty's peace mission, 242; of industrial school $6,000 annually, 254; Brouillet paid priests' traveling, 255; Brouillet asked Jerome to donate for, 295 f.; entire collection consumed by, 309; of bureau never exceeded $2,500 annually, 327; in 1885 bureau lacked funds for, 343 *n*

F

Federal aid, for Indian missions, 12; Calhoun secured for Missouri missions, 13; Catholic missions helped by, 28; Burchard against denominational education receiving, 148; was paid directly to Brouillet, 214; Gibbon thought War Department should handle, 217; of $750 annually to each teacher, 236; more children taken through increased, 255; of $2,500 for hospital, 257; long delayed for industrial school, 263-265; to Catholic schools increased, 298; given to Episcopalian school, 309; loss

threatened by slowness of, 314; in 1882 Catholic schools received much, 329; increased after 1887, 343
Feehanville, Illinois, boys school established, 1883, 334
Fenn, Stephen S., Idaho Territorial Representative supported Cataldo's testimony, 207
Fenwick, Edward D., O.P., Bishop of Cincinnati, 12.
Finances of bureau, Brouillet foresaw no difficulty in providing, 101; bishops agreed to furnish, 107; Anderson's departure may have affected, 124; Ewing's circular letter did not improve, 127; lectures failed to bolster, 144; still pressing burden, 1875, 153; gained $6,000 from ladies' associations, 1876, 157; not augmented much by Malo's lectures, 159; missionary association partly solved problem of, 167; self-sustaining, 168; missionary association or hierarchy should meet, 191; missionary associations necessary for, 199; lacked permanent solution, 208; Brouillet's new plan for meeting, 212 f.; Brouillet asked French to help, 216; soldiers promised donations, 246 f.; mass meeting called to help, 247; aid to Benedictines from, 250 *n*; Brouillet wanted collection among Germans, 257; expanding activities strained, 307; helped by first national collection, 343
Fink, Louis M., O.S.B., Kansas vicar said Osages had left, 132 *n*; reported all Leavenworth Indians civilized, 311
Fish, Hamilton, Secretary of State under Grant, 151
Fisk, Clinton B., member Board of Indian Commissioners, 290; produced evidence against Hayt, 291; charged religion used to obtain job, 294
Flatheads, four delegations requesting priest, 20; two buried from St. Louis Cathedral, 20 *n*; Brouillet's funeral attended by, 336
Florida, peak of missions, 1634, 4
Florissant, Missouri, boarding school for Indian boys, 13
Foffa, Chrysostom, O.S.B., first priest to join Marty, 235 f.; left to do parish work, 235 *n*; took charge during Marty's absence, 240 f.; irritated by drunken teacher, 254 f.; replaced Jerome at Standing Rock, 314 f.; Sitting Bull friendly to, 317
Forbes, William Henry, agent at Devil's Lake, 1871-1875, 222 f.
Fort, *see* under particular names; e.g., Belknap, Fort
Fox, George, Quaker interested in Indians, 7
France, New, motives for founding, 5
Franchi, Alessandro Cardinal, petition for Ewing's knighthood to, 181; Secretary of State for Leo XIII, 182 *n*
Franciscans, early missionary leaders, 3; in Florida, 1634, 4
Franciscan Sisters, opened boarding school for Chippewas, 1879, 207
Frauds, facilitated by Indian Bureau's system, 41; in Delano's plan for Fort Hall, 65, Commissioner Edward P. Smith charged with, 86 *n*; agent of Blackfeet indicted for, 121; Osages reported robbed of $200,000, 150; 1876 reaction from, 169; McMaster attacked Hayes' Indian policy for, 200; 1878 instances of, 261; McLaughlin prevented, 315
Freeman's Journal, edited by James A. McMaster, 58; began violent assault on bureau, 1878, 180; charged Sherman with robbing Sioux mission, 181 *n*; pro-bureau articles published in, 187; deprecated Bayley's approval of bureau, 189; charged with assuming episcopal prerogative, 191, threatened to remove bureau, 197 *n*; disparaged Gibbons' endorsement of bureau, 201; banned in McCloskey's residence, 206 *n*; endorsements refused because of, 210 *n*; suppressed by Baltes in Alton, 210, 219; not authorized by diocese, 220; harsh critic of bureau, 327; adversely interpreted council's decree, 342 f.
Freemason, Agent Beckwith charged with being, 224

French missionaries, friendly with Indians, 5; later praised by Indian agent, 10
Fund, Civilization, *see* "Civilization Fund"

G

Garesché, Frederick, S.J., supposedly opposed St. Louis' missionary association, 176 *n*
Garfield, James A., congressman bitterly condemned Indian Office, 1869, 22; 20th President disproved Peace Policy, 321 f.; O'Connor expected policy reversal by, 323
Geary, Edward R., Catholic rights conceded by Superintendent, 45
Genin, Jean-Baptiste-Marie, O.M.I., itinerant Indian missionary in Dakota Territory, 196; wanderer with little liking for authority, 197; McMaster used letter of, 201; attended Devil's Lake during 1872, 222; rejected as substitute for Marty, 240
Germans, editions of *Annals* issued for, 165; *Wahrheitsfreund* widely read by, 217 f.; Marty did not take collection among, 257
Gibbon, John, General criticized Indian agents, 217; wrote accounts of Indian wars, 217 *n*; unsuccessful pursuit of Sitting Bull, 241 *n*
Gibbons, James, Bishop of Richmond gave $20, 159; succeeded Bayley as Archbishop of Baltimore, 190; asked to stop McMaster's imputations, 191; endorsed bureau in praising Ewing's work, 192; had proper means for judging bureau, 193; asked to support Indian Office transfer, 205 *n*; did not sanction Marty's proposal, 312; appointed apostolic delegate for plenary council, 337; leadership of meeting in Rome, 338; appointed Stephan to head bureau, 339 f.
Gibson, Isaac T., Quaker agent of Osages, 133; protested condemnatory newspaper articles, 134 f.; charged with fraud, 150
Gilmour, Richard, bishop addressed Cleveland convention, 162 *n*
Giorda, Joseph, S.J., statistics about Indian missions furnished by, 49; early petitioner for Ewing's assistance, 83; opposed erection of vicariate in Montana, 170 f.; sketch of Indian work, 171 *n*
Gorp, Leopold Van, S.J., said to have recommended Ewing, 81; suggested friend for supervisor, 84
Grace, Thomas L., bishop encouraged application for Chippewa Agency, 86; authorized Grey Nuns at Devil's Lake Reserve, 222 f.
Grand River Agency, DeSmet was well acquainted with, 50; assigned to Catholics in 1870, 225; *see also* Standing Rock
Grande Ronde Reservation, Archbishop Blanchet asked for, 42; Methodist undecided about status of, 44
Grant, Ulysses S., President approved Board of Indian Commissioners, 26; entrusted reservations to Society of Friends, 27; announced Peace Policy, 1870, 27-28; gave no power to Indian commissioners, 30; anxious to improve Indians' position, 32; Society of Friends praised by, 33; stated policy in 1870 message, 36 f.; in 1871 first used "peace policy," 59; rift in acclaim for program of, 60; promise of aid to Catholics unfulfilled, 68; saw Deshon twice in November, 1872, 77; Ewing interpreted 1870 statement of, 89; statement in 1870 message of, 91 *n*; Deshon was second in class with, 92; promised Deshon to act at once, 94; promised Catholic inspector, 1873, 115; again exculpated for subordinates' actions, 126; humorously represented as Henry VIII, 149; advocated schools devoid of religion, 152; approved Ewing for New Mexico governorship, 153; scandals gradually uncovered in administration of, 160; endorsed by Methodists for third term, 162; ended second term in 1877, 169

Grant, Mrs. Ulysses S., takes part of Catholic missions, 77
Grasshoppers, harvested bountiful Dakota crop, 246 *n*
Greeley, Horace, reported Jackson's contempt for Marshall's decision, 15 *n*; defeated by Grant in 1872, 64, 68; visited by Mesplié, 68 *n*
Green, John M., Standing Rock physician suspended for drunkenness, 263
Greene, David, Secretary of American Board, 55
Grey Nuns, visited by Brouillet in 1872, 135; empowered by Tilden to grant diplomas, 162; undertake teaching at Devil's Lake, 222 f.; Kemble praised highly, 224; operated industrial school at Devil's Lake, 244; completely satisfactory at Devil's Lake, 246; gave $400 for boys' school, 247; continued good work at Devil's Lake, 255; cared for sick at Devil's Lake, 256 f.; taught weaving to girls, 303
Guilday, Peter, spoke at reinterment of Ewing's body, 333 f.

H

Hall, Fort, Methodists and Catholics contended for, 64-68; incorrectly credited to Catholics, 76 *n;* Indians dissatisfied and desired Catholic missionaries, 99
Hammond, John, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Dakota, 243; energetically co-operated with Marty, 248-250; at first praised Hughes, 252; promoted to Indian inspector, 253 *n*; friendly with President's wife, 264 *n*
Hard Rope, Osage chief asked for Catholic teachers, 206 f.
Hare, William H., Episcopalian bishop at Spotted Tail Agency, 249; complained about Peace Policy, 282 f.
Harris, William Logan, Methodist-Episcopal bishop, 67
Harrison, William Henry, made treaty with Kaskaskias in 1803, 10
Hayes, Rutherford B., willing to use prejudice in campaign, 161; 19th president of U. S., 162; named Schurz Secretary of the Interior, 169; Catholic missionaries highly lauded by, 171; election decided after contest, 239; contemplated no change in Peace Policy, 243; asked to redeem his promise, 280; not expected to change Grant's policy, 285; thought Ewing member of Indian board, 294, concerned about Sitting Bull, 316
Hayt, Ezra A., succeeded John Q. Smith as Indian Commissioner, 188; quoted relative Sioux' paganism, 225 *n*; commended Red Cloud's cooperation, 251 *n;* contemptuous of request for Catholic teachers, 260; appointed Methodist to Catholic reservation, 262; exerted pressure against Catholic missionary, 263-265; Marty feared hostility of, 271; rejected Ewing's law compilation, 274-276; ordered McCarthy expelled, 277 f.; ordered missionary off Catholic reserve, 289; charged with misuse of office, 290-294
Health, of DeSmet prevented attending meeting, 46; Bayley had frail, 72; hampered Ewing in 1875, 153; demanded St. Onge abandon missionary work, 187 *n*; Brouillet hoped European trip would improve, 211; of Marty temporarily weakened, 242; hospital opened at Devil's Lake, 256 f.; Stephan's tenure threatened by bad, 296 f.; Stephan's retirement forced by bad, 313; Foffa claimed overwork caused bad, 314; of Brouillet bad in 1883, 332; of McCloskey poor, 1883, 337
Healy, James Aug., bishop did not defend bureau publicly, 206
Healy, Patrick F., S.J., Georgetown president headed control board, 176; control board's integrity proved by, 187
Hecker, Isaac (T.), C.S.P., was superior of Paulists, 84
Heiss, Michael, Ewing wrote Bishop, 91; authorized another petition for Chippewas, 131; disproved national collection, 310 f.

Herring, Elbert, first Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 14
Hierarchy, unavailable in 1870, 46; Archbishop Blanchet spoke for, 54; appeal by Archbishop Blanchet to, 58; did not respond as Blanchet expected, 61; lacked unified action, 76 f.; requested to file claims, 96; Ewing wanted bureau approved by entire, 104; representation before government discredited with California, 149; seemed to favor lectures or collections, 154; asked to endorse bureau, 190; petition approved by 12 of, 190 *n*; contributed $1,730 in 5½ years, 199; McMaster's attacks cowed some of, 205; favored flight to battle with McMaster, 206; asked to endorse bureau, 210; was expected to approve Brouillet's petition, 212; method of helping bureau left to, 215; for school fund Brouillet solicited, 295; concerted action wanted by mid-western, 309; cool to Marty's annual collection, 310 f.; attended meeting in Rome, 1883, 337-339; Third Plenary Council, 340-342
Hitchcock, Phineas Warrener, Nebraska senator supported Agent Burke, 232 *n*
Holohan, Amanda F. A., instigator of Philadelphia auxiliary, 156; offered to have indulgenced prayer printed, 160; advised *Catholic Standard* refused articles, 202; Brouillet's European trip favored by, 208
Homestead Act of 1862, permitted pre-emption of Indian lands, 21; extended to Indians in 1871, 41
Hospital, opened at Devil's Lake, 256 f.
Hostiles, name applied to Indians on warpath, 231; in 1877 Marty attempted bringing back, 238-243; reported ready to surrender, 1877, 240; disturbing to reservation Indians, 280 f.; after return were friendly to Benedictines, 317
Hudson's Bay Company, Dr. John McLoughlin agent for, 20; promoted good relations with Indians, 222
Hughes, William T., approved for Standing Rock Agency, 233; unsatisfactory as agent, 252 f.; finally discharged for misconduct, 261; remained at Standing Rock after discharge, 262 f.
Hunt, Jerome, O.S.B, questioned Brouillet concerning Standing Rock's $3,000, 196; wanted to refute McMaster's attacks, 197; in 1877 came to Standing Rock, 242; long work among Sioux praised, 243 *n*; suspicious of Hughes, 252; operated with borrowed money, 265; never sent promised donation, 295 f.; replaced at Standing Rock by Foffa, 314
Hunter, R. F., sent missionary manuals for convention, 162 *n*; failed to obtain money from Hayt, 265; thanked by Stephan, 266

I

Imoda, Camillus, S.J., forbidden to offer Mass by agent, 121; condemned Genin as vagabond, 197 *n*
Indian Agent, proposed giving poor land to Indians, 19; many condemned by Bishop Whipple, 22; Society of Friends asked to nominate, 33; Delano qualified appointment of, 38; meeting at Lapwai not attended by, 116 *n*; political appointee before 1870, 126; title term of reproach, 126; law required full accounting from, 150 *n*; politics more prominent in appointment of, 170; Catholic bureau secured Stephan's appointment as, 204; Gibbon condemned Protestant, 217; William Henry Forbes at Devil's Lake, 223; Indian service needed competent, 232; general reduction in salaries for, 256; not required to appear in Washington, 260; shift of Cramsie and McLaughlin proposed, 296 f.; transfer of McLaughlin and Stephan, 315; McLaughlin and Cramsie confirmed, 321; Teller repudiated religious groups nominating, 323

Indian Bureau, transferred from War to Interior Department, 14; favored single denomination on reservation, 88 f., 116; Bayley charged injustice by, 102, fact suppression revealed by clerk of, 150 f.; Tomazin charged Brouillet with placating, 198; criticism of Catholic co-operation with, 200, 204; sisters teaching Osages without compensation from, 206; Grey Nuns contracted to teach for, 222 f.; proposed day school at Standing Rock, 227; possible War Department transfer worried Stephan, 253; recognized education as worthwhile, 286 f.; Hayt cost public confidence in, 291; *see also* Bureau of Indian Affairs

Indian Fund, in 13 months $12,000 given to, 168; Bayley appointed board for control of, 176; seminarians want to make donation to, 179 f.; all collections came through bureau, 308

Indian Office, *see* Indian Bureau

Indian policy, causes for change of, 14; more benign after 1845, 17; California Indians injured by Mexican, 19; unfavorable comparison with Canadian, 22; military most expensive phase of, 26 f.; 1869 demand for improved, 29; Colyer proposed missionary societies manage reservations, 35, official embarrassment avoided by changing, 40; gradually became single denomination on reservation, 116; had become disaster for Catholics, 125; excellent theory failed in practice, 126; hostile non-Catholics charged with dominating, 149; considered complete failure by newspaper, 150; Hayt saw nothing unconstitutional in, 188; Hayes followed Grant in, 285; bureau gloried in continuous co-operation with, 325, *see also* Peace Policy

Indian Territory, Orthodox Friends given tribes in, 33; Catholic Osages in, 132, 178; Robot prefect apostolic of, 173; two clerics in all, 174; McMaster furthered mission in, 179; task of Robot in, 219; invaded by David L. Payne, 302

Industrial school, 1870 appropriation of $100,000 for, 25 *n*; contract for Standing Rock, 210; established at Devil's Lake, 1874, 222 f.; planned for Standing Rock, 244-246; legislation introduced for, 253 f.; teachers promised for, 255; lack of cattle feed hampered, 261; educational fund financed Standing Rock, 263; educated in practical arts, 303; Brouillet's loan prevented loss at, 314; at Devil's Lake praised, 315 f.

Infidels, explanation of misunderstood term, 51-53

Ingalls, John J, Kansas senator advocated force, 286

Inspector, Indian, served as check on Indian service, 114 f.; Kemble appointed for Northwest, 115; Hammond promoted to, 253 *n*; praised Catholic schools, 330

Interior, Department of the, Bureau of Indian Affairs transferred to, 14; War Department strife hurt Indian program, 31; lacked jurisdiction over Alaska, 100; petition of Osages missing in, 133; Catholic bureau maintained friendly relations with, 260; considered unfavorable to Catholics, 304

Interior, Secretary of the, *see* Cox, Delano, Chandler, Schurz, Teller

Ireland, John, bishop gave Malo faculties, 269

Irish, Malo confident of generosity of, 269; McCarthy sent to care for, 283 f.; sisters came to Dakota, 287

Irish Catholic Benevolent Union, approved resolution of Brouillet, 301

Iroquois, martyred Isaac Jogues, 6; English colonists rejected alliance against, 7; power destroyed by Sullivan, 8

Irwin, James, Red Cloud Agent hospitable, 251; McGillycuddy succeeded, 271

J

Jackson, Andrew, Indian policy of President, 13-14; Supreme Court defied by, 15
Janney, Samuel M., headed Society of Friends delegation, 243
Janssens, Francis (A.), bishop condemned Robot, 197 *n*; wanted collection at once, 343
Jerome, Father, O.S.B., *see* Hunt, Jerome
Jesuits, early missionaries, 3; useful in effecting colonial treaties, 6; provided church for every trading post, 12; given Missouri missions, 1823, 13; details of transfer to Missouri, 13 *n*; Spalding charged Whitman massacre to, 56 f.; Coeur d'Alène petition forwarded by, 99; Keller provincial of, 107 f.; school for Osages, 133; co-operation required for new missions by, 178 *n*; ministered to Osages for 30 years, 179; mission at Grand River, 225; again interested in Standing Rock, 229; in Illinois endorsed William Hughes, 233; donations from O'Connor, 235 *n*; Montana work praised, 330; interceded for Ewings, 333
Jogues, Isaac, S.J., typical XVII century missionary, 5; tortured by Indians, 5; killed by Iroquois, 6
Johnson, William, British Indian superintendent, 1771, 286
Johnston, Robert E., Captain filed charged against Marty, 218; commissioned to operate Standing Rock, 232; tried to expel Marty from reserve, 233 f.
Jones, Charles S., officer of bureau, 319
Junger, Aegidius, succeeded Blanchet as Bishop of Nesqually, 143 *n*; vicar general and bishop, 205 *n*; appointed vicar general in 1876, 210 *n*; wanted no conflict with Catholic bureau, 311; anxious about sisters leaving Tulalip, 330
Justice, Archbishop Blanchet grateful for promise of, 54; Bayley feared could not be obtained, 75; Bayley doubted administration would give, 80 *n*; Bayley declared government not motivated by, 102; Brouillet asks for, 147; demanded exclusion of missionary, 289

K

Kansas, Padilla martyred in, 4; Mother Duschesne to, 13; Potawatomi removal to, 16; Orthodox Friends given tribes in, 33; mission for Osages in, 132-135; force advocated by Senator Ingalls, 286; Indians civilized at Leavenworth, 311
Keiley, Benjamin J., used pseudonym "P.H.D.," 193 *n*
Keller, James E., S.J., advised Bayley against establishing bureau, 108 f.
Kelley, Leverett M., appointed agent at Standing Rock, 262; appointed agent at Los Pinos, 263 *n*
Kemble, Edward C., praised Catholic school at Tulalip, 1873, 111; appointed inspector for Northwest, 115; no action on Indians' petition by, 116; scored Catholic missionaries invading Protestant reservations, 145; praised Grey Nuns' work, 224
Kenkel, Frederick P., opinion about Schurz, 267 *n*
Kenrick, Peter Richard, archbishop commended DeSmet, 24 *n*; advised Bayley against establishing bureau, 107; authorized establishment of women's missionary association, 155; Ryan coadjutor bishop to, 229
Kirkwood, Samuel J., favored large reservations, 320; attitude toward Peace Policy, 321
Klamath, Methodists and Catholics contended for, 64-68; Indians on warpath, 96
Knox, Henry, views regarding civilization of Indians, 8; recommended missionaries for Indians, 9
Kuppens, Francis X., S.J., failed to establish Grand River mission, 225

L

LaFollet, Charles, Blanchet supported Grande Ronde agent, 51
Lambert, Dominic, O.S.B., Benedictine brother in Indian Territory, 1875, 174
Lamy, John B., favored Deshon or Ewing nominating agent, 74; high regard for Ewing's judgment, 81 *n*
Language, Spanish to learn Indian, 3; Petit knew Potawatomi, 16; Baraga quickly learned, 17; possible handicap of Archbishop Blanchet, 69; McLaughlin learned Sioux, 223 f.; no priest who spoke Sioux, 228; Benedictines studied Sioux, 231; Benedictines teaching improved through knowing, 234
Lapwai, reserve transferred from Catholics to Presbyterians, 37, 90; Monteith's protest relative Catholic missionary, 112-113; Indians' petition ignored, 115 f.; illegal to build church at, 131; agents at, 207; Lowrie forgot exclusion of missionary from, 290
Laugel, Giles, O.S.B, brother who came to Standing Rock, 235 *n*
Laws, Indian, Indian preference in 1834, 14 *n*; power of chiefs undermined by, 40; Hayt rejected Ewing's compilation of, 274-276; rendered McCarthy liable to $1,000 fine, 278 f.
Learning ability of Indians, Baraga published first Ottawa book, 17; recognized in colonial days, 286; demonstrated in schools, 302; gave Brouillet hope for future, 330.
Legacies, anonymous benefactor, 307; solicited for bureau, 319
Legislation, Indian peace thwarted by lack of, 29; treaties superseded by, 40; abolished some superintendencies, 114; against religious schools introduced by Blaine, 152 *n*; for industrial school, 253 f.; not passed for industrial school, 263; for religious liberty failed in 1879, 284; proposed by Brouillet, 301
Le Monde, French newspaper which carried bureau articles, 216
Leo XIII, Brouillet ready for audience with, 212; asked to grant indulgence, 339
Leonardtown, Md., had seven groups for missionary association, 157
Leopoldine Society, Baraga first missionary of, 17; Indian missions aided by Austrian, 130 *n*
Leray, Francis X, bishop condemned Robot, 197 *n*
Little Sisters of the Poor, Brouillet suggested as chaplain for, 138
Long Branch, New Jersey, meeting of Mesplié, Deshon and Grant, 77; Mrs. Grant at, 77
Lootens, Louis, vicar apostolic of Idaho, 68; petition disapproved by Delano, 91; Ewing's elation in message to, 112
Loughran, Joseph, salary prohibited bureau employing, 130 f.; correspondent with McMaster, 175
Lowrie, John C., Brunot's letter to, 105 *n*; joined in protest regarding Renville, 289 f.; refused to endorse freedom for all, 298
Lusk, Charles S., secretary of bureau, 199; summary of life, 276 *n*; with Ewing at death, 332; high regard for Brouillet, 336
Lynch, James S. M., rector of St. Joseph's Seminary, 179

M

McCarthy, Meinrad M., O.S.B., excluded from Pine Ridge Reservation, 276-284; insisted on attending dying Indians, 283
McCloskey, John, judgment valued by Bayley, 103; favored bureau at New York meeting, 107; vague promise of financial support, 128; became cardinal before helped bureau, 129; asked to help Ewing's governorship

bid, 153; financial supervision of bureau, 176; petition for Ewing's papal knighthood, 181; expected to support Brouillet's plan, 213; apparently did not endorse Brouillet's plan, 214; thought people too poor for collection, 258; deferred collection by Marty, 268; demonstrated approval of bureau, 307; unable to attend Roman meeting, 1883, 337
McFarland, Francis P., Bishop of Hartford wrote Blanchet, 59
McGillycuddy, Valentine T., succeeded Irwin at Pine Ridge, 271 *n*; expelled McCarthy, 278; forwarded petition for McCarthy, 279 f.; threatened by Red Cloud, 331
McLaughlin, James, agent at Devil's Lake, 223 f.; Indians progressed under, 244; dismayed by salary reduction, 256; Congregationalists reported him friendly, 288 f.; agency transfer proposed, 296 f.; concern for Indian's welfare, 315; confirmed as Standing Rock agent, 321
McLoughlin, John, Northwest Indians treated kindly by, 20
McMaster, James A., did not print Archbishop Blanchet's letter 58 f.; called "Quaker Plan" complete failure, 120; convert editor of *Freeman's Journal,* 172; critic of wrongs to Indians, 172 f.; attacked Robot's selection as prefect apostolic, 173 f.; Robot aided by small donations, 174 f.; episcopal approval lacking for plan, 175; Robot's mission project of, 179; invited other editors to adopt missions, 180; Ewing's papal decoration ineffective with, 182; bureau's expenses compared with his collection, 183; principal reason for hostility to bureau, 184; blasted eastern newspapers, 185; angered because Brouillet used *Catholic Mirror,* 186; questioned only wisdom of bureau's management, 187; regretted St. Onge's letter wasted space, 188; belittled Gibbons' endorsement of bureau, 192 f.; claimed Gibbons lacked knowledge of bureau, 193; Genin provided fuel to, 196 f.; found Tomazin ready ally, 198; informed of Brouillet's living expenses, 200; rebuked for attacking Thomas Ewing, Sr., 201; claimed he disliked wrangles, 202; Marty probably influenced by, 204; gloried in reputation for tirades, 206; respectful to papal authority, 219; criticisms indirectly beneficial, 327; given no information by Brondel, 342
Mackin, Bernard, priest at Deadwood, 281 *n,* 282 *n*
Maguire, Bernard A., S.J., personal contacts made in Washington by, 60 f.; assignment of Grande Ronde through, 62; refused Blanchet's message, 69
Mallet, Edmund, never confirmed for Standing Rock Agency, 233
Malo, Jean F., Indian missionary commissioned to undertake lectures, 158; unfamiliar with English, 159; unsuccessful as diplomat, 177; believed hierarchy dreaded McMaster's attacks, 205 f.; 20 years Oregon missionary, 206 *n*; replaced Brouillet, 210; asked to translate petition for Ewing, 212; engaged drunkard as teacher, 254; undertook new Sioux mission, 269 f.; from Dublin learned Marty named bishop, 281 *n*; opened St. Ann's mission, 286; taught school until sisters arrived, 287; difficulties in collecting for mission, 308; wanted uniform collection for missions, 309
Marquette, Jacques, S.J., co-explorer of Mississippi, 11
Marshall, John, 1832 Cherokee decision by, 14 f.
Marty, Martin, O.S.B., coolness with Brouillet, 202; disliked bureau's cooperation with Indian Office, 204; charged with living off government rations, 218; undertakes work at Standing Rock, 228-237; apostle of the Sioux Indians, 230; liked by personnel at Standing Rock, 231 *n*; captain asserted government rations used by, 233 f.; advocated work by Indians, 236; peace mission to Sitting Bull, 238-243; ready for new school, 247; friendly note to Brouillet, 247 *n*; met Hare at Spotted Tail Agency, 249; appointed vicar general by O'Connor, 250; wanted bureau

to compensate McLaughlin, 256; personally removed missionaries, 264; recommended by O'Connor for episcopacy, 267; made collection in eastern states, 268-271; appointed Vicar Apostolic of Dakota, 272; sent McCarthy to Pine Ridge, 276; visited Sitting Bull second time, 280-282; consecrated bishop, 296; asked hierarchy for annual collection, 309-311; derived benefit from rejected plan, 312 f.; influential in return of Sitting Bull, 316-318; Brouillet discounted criticisms by, 328; annual collection finally taken, 343
Martyr, *see* Padilla, Cancer, Franciscans in Florida, Jogues
Massachusetts, Jesuits banned, 6; paid expenses of Catholic missionary, 10
Medary, Charles S., wrote Delano for Catholic missions, 276 *n*
Menéndez, (Pedro), de Avilés, made first permanent settlement in U. S., 4
Mesplié, Toussaint, ordained by F. N. Blanchet, 62; political miscalculations of, 64; negotiations for reservations by, 65 f.; negotiations with Deshon, 67 f.; visited Horace Greeley, 1872, 68 *n*; originally proposed layman as Washington agent, 71; scorned power of attorney for Wiget, 73; credited with Deshon acting in Washington, 75; expected Catholics to receive 29 agencies, 78; first to mention Ewing for representative, 81 *n*; appealed for proper management of reservations, 166
Messages to Congress, by Washington in 1795, 9; Grant's first in 1869, 33; Grant's second in 1870, 35 f.; satisfaction expressed in 1871, 59; 1875, Grant against religious schools, 152
Methodists, contacted by Colyer, 35; Catholic claims conceded by, 45; missions in Oregon Territory, 55; reported acting against Catholic Indians, 59; Klamath and Fort Hall contended for, 65-68; Brunot ignored Catholics in addressing, 105; Wilbur and Milroy were ministers of, 114; endorsed Grant for third term, 162; Standing Rock temporarily given to, 262; to secure job man joined, 294; had not opened school, 299; threatened withdrawal if Catholics given adjustment, 305; favored retention of missionary restriction, 306; protested violation of Peace Policy, 322 f.
Methodist Episcopal, *see* Methodists
Miles, Nelson A., U. S. army general, 282 *n*
Military, force used by United States, 8; deemed DeSmet valuable ally, 23 f.; most expensive phase of Indian policy, 26 f.; officers forbidden to become Indian agents, 34, unable to halt Texas Indians, 48 f.; force advocated to settle Indian troubles, 173; fear expressed over bad example by, 217; Gibbon wrote accounts of Indian wars, 217 *n*; temporarily took over Standing Rock, 1876, 218; Standing Rock Agent unfriendly with, 231; assumed control of Standing Rock, 232; operations not suspended for Marty, 239; interfered with Standing Rock school, 303
Miller, John K., Ohio representative and Virginia Miller's father, 137 *n*
Miller, Virginia, wife of Ewing and Catholic convert, 106 *n*; daughter of John K. Miller, 137 *n*; *see also* Ewing, Mrs. Charles
Milroy, Robert H., Methodist superintendent for Washington Territory, 114; Yakima agent, 322
Milwaukee, girls school established, 1883, 334
Minnesota, Indians predominantly Catholic in northern, 86; Unitarians recommended for, 90; Grace Bishop of St. Paul, 222; Seidenbusch in northern, 228; faculties granted Malo in, 269; death of Pierz, missionary in, 296
Mission Indians, property in California confiscated, 19; further advanced than others, 39
Missionaries, Indian, XVI century Dominicans, Franciscans, Jesuits, 3; different opinions regarding achievements of Spanish, 4; Jesuits Jogues and Raymbault, 5; Gabriel Druillettes, S.J., 6; Flatheads made four

requests for, 20; achievements to 1870 of Catholic, 28; labors of DeSmet as, 71; Chippewa agent commended Catholic, 89; denominations given agencies lacked, 106; Nez Percés long instructed by Catholic, 112; Osage petition pushed by, 134 *n*; Catholic women asked to support, 155; Nebraska and Montana had seven, 170; of Catholics increased from 117 to 137, 171; lack of funds prevented enough, 209; sought for Standing Rock, 227-230; encountered three obstacles at Standing Rock, 231; enticing advertisement for, 248 *n*; no room at agency for Catholic, 251; Dakota in 1878 had 21, 257; Hayt forced withdrawal of Catholic, 264; in 1879 145 Catholic, 273; role at annual board meeting, 294; sects supplied agents but no, 299; frost broke ink bottle of, 309 *n*

Missionary societies, Colyer contacted in 1870, 35; invited to take agencies, 36; at 1871 Washington meeting, 37 f.; 1872 meeting with Indian board, 59 f.; second joint meeting, 1873, 78 f.; considered branch of government, 126; fourth joint meeting, 1875, 144 f.; not mentioned by Schurz in report, 288; protested Hayt's order, 289; placated by promises in 1880, 294 f.; divided sentiment relative Peace Policy, 305 f.; withdrawal again threatened, 321 f.

Missouri, schools established in, 13; Bogy Senator from, 161; Thomas Ewing, Jr. supposedly hated in, 201 f.; General Fisk from, 290

Missouri River, Jesuits take missions on, 13; DeSmet's concern for Indians on upper, 25; DeSmet's last trip up, 225; St. Ann's mission opened along, 286

"Molly Maguires," 1878 execution of 10 members of, 208

Monastery, at St. Meinrad, 228; Standing Rock terrain unsuitable for, 231; for Indians proposed by Marty, 236

Monroe, James, Indian education furthered under President, 10 f.; favored gradual removal of Indians, 14

Monteith, Charles E., Lapwai agent in 1882, 207

Monteith, John B., Presbyterian agent at Lapwai, Idaho, 112; practice against government's policy, 116; denounced in House of Representatives, 207; had objected to Catholic services, 290

Montreal, Brouillet visited in 1874, 129; Grey Nuns to Dakota from, 222 f.

Mora, Francis, bishop sent bureau $200, 154 *n*

Mount Saint Mary Seminary of the West (Cincinnati), regularly donated to Catholic bureau, 157

Mullan, John, succeeded Ewing in 1883, 334

Mullen, Tobias, Bishop of Erie, 205

Mundwiler, Fintan, O.S.B., succeeded Marty at St. Meinrad's, 314

N

Narváez (Pánfilo de), accompanied by Franciscan missionaries in 1528, 3

Nebraska, Hicksites given tribes in, 33; Standing Rock attended from, 228; nomination vetoed by senators from, 233; McCarthy's tent in, 279

Negroes, joined invaders of Indian Territory, 302; considered with Indians in Roman meeting, 337-339; with Indians in plenary council's decree, 342; expanded bureau's scope, 343

Nerinckx, Charles, priest disproved government allowance to missionaries, 9 *n*

Nesmith, James W., senator lauded Catholic education at Tulalip, 111 *n*

Nesqually Diocese, comprised Washington Territory, 43; variant spellings, 43 *n*; nine diocesan priests, 1875, 141 *n*

New France, motives for founding, 5

Newman, John P., had sponsored suspended Blackfoot agent, 121; Methodist-Episcopal pastor in Washington, 121 *n*; scored for part in school question, 152
New Spotted Tail Agency, *see* Spotted Tail
Nez Percés, repeated requests for priest, 20; reassigned from Catholics to Presbyterians, 37; permission to erect church for, 83, 96; assigned to Presbyterians in 1870, 90; permission withdrawn to build church for, 112-116; illegal to erect church for, 131; Monteith opposed Catholic church for, 207; 1873 incident forgotten by Lowrie, 290

O

O'Beirne, James A. R., special agent welcomed McCarthy, 277; left to agent enforcement of exclusion, 278
Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Genin resigned from, 196; Seidenbusch hoped to get, 228
O'Connell, Eugene, Bishop of Grass Valley, California, 146; seeks establishment of Round Valley mission, 148; searching question of, 149
O'Connor, James, Vicar Apostolic of Nebraska, 1876, 170; asked to approve Brouillet's circular letter, 189; disliked bureau's co-operation with Indian Office, 204; asked McCloskey for financial assistance, 208; report on Sioux missions, 210; consecrated bishop, 1876, 227; Marty's labors facilitated by, 234 f.; eastern trip by, 250; advised to avoid Agent Hughes, 253; donations exceeded collections, 257 f.; poverty did not throttle charity of, 258 *n*; recommended Marty for bishop, 267; refused to replace Marty for collection, 268; Marty's appointment followed recommendation by, 272; condemned agents who expelled missionaries, 275; test case regarding missionaries by, 276; McCarthy supported by, 278; appeared before congressional committee, 285; declined writing appeal for Marty, 310; went east twice for Indians, 323 f.; representative with Marty of Catholic leadership, 328; saw collection begun, 1887, 343
O'Connor, J. C., wrongly credited to Catholics, 115 *n*; DeSmet's nominee for agent, 226
Ogalala, variant spelling, 251 *n*; asked for McCarthy's services, 279 f.; *see also* Red Cloud; *also* Pine Ridge
O'Gorman, James M., O.C.S.O., bishop was Vicar Apostolic of Nebraska, 80 *n*; died July 4, 1874, 227
O'Hara, Edwin V., considered Blanchet's letter vigorous protest, 51
O'Loane, Columbano, O.S.B., joined Robot as missionary, 186
Opposition, evidence of continued, 54; Marshall's books finally quelled, 57; Bayley feared bureau would increase, 103; necessitated more activity by Catholics, 104; Bayley ascribed to Methodists, 108; Rome's endorsement against, 211; from Episcopalians Marty anticipated little, 249; of Interior Department pronounced, 258 f.; found in Interior Department, 304 f.
Order No. 11, cleared southern sympathizers from Missouri, 201 f.
Oregon, coterminus with Archbishop Blanchet's territory, 42; Corbett senator from, 43; Archbishop Blanchet's familiarity with, 52 f.; various missions opened in, 55; Nesmith Senator from, 111 *n*; Malo missionary in, 206 *n*
Oregon City, *see* Francis Norbert Blanchet, Archbishop of
Osages, Catholic missions successful among, 37; desires thwarted during Washington visit, 132-135; chief protested loss of $200,000, 150; in Indian Territory, 1876, 174; predominantly Catholic tribe in Indian Territory, 178; unswayed in faith in bureau, 206

Osuna, Luciano, itinerant California missionary, 145; testimony concerning Round Valley, 146 f.; forbidden to use school by Methodists, 147; acquitted of charge of insanity, 147 *n*; appearance eccentric to some, 148
Ottawas, petitioned Congress for missionary, 11 f.; Baraga published first book for, 17

P

Padilla, Juan de, martyred in present Kansas, 4; Lyons, Kansas, memorial to, 4 *n*
Paganism, ideal was conversion from, 28; Protestants reported difficult to eradicate, 86 *n*; rampant among Sioux, 1871, 225 f.; Indians became ashamed of, 303
Pah-ne-no-pah-sha, Joe, Osage chief feared agent squandered money, 134 *n*; charged Osage Indians were robbed, 150; asked for Catholic teachers, 206 f.
Palladino, Lawrence B., S.J., preferred sincere Protestant to poor Catholic, 100; starting new schools, 100 *n*; missionary in Montana, 235 *n*
Palmer, Edmond, agent at Standing Rock, 226 f
Pananniapapi, Yankton chief became Catholic, 23; Malo went to Yankton Sioux of, 269
Panic of 1873, delayed prompt decision about establishing bureau, 103; brought financial collapse to Cincinnati archdiocese, 124; 1878 low point following, 268 *n*
Papago Reservation, in Arizona had been consolidated, 274
Papal relations, in 1870 hierarchy attended Vatican Council, 46, 325; Vaughan rumored to supervise Indians, 153; apostolic benediction granted to missionary associations, 160; meeting of hierarchy in Rome, 1883, 337-339; legislation of plenary council approved, 342
Parker, Ely S., Commissioner of Indian Affairs under Grant, 32 f.; agency reassignment requested of, 42 f.; 1871 reply to Archbishop Blanchet, 44 f.; did not answer DeSmet's appeal, 49 f.
Parkman, Francis, admiration for active Catholicity of Abenakis, 6; asserted Catholicity best for Indians, 6 *n*
Patterson, Mrs. Winifred, treasurer of St. Louis women's organization, 156
Patuxents, 7
Paul III, 3 *n*
Payne, David L., led invasion of Indian Territory, 302
Peace mission, of DeSmet to Sioux, 1868, 24; by Marty to Sitting Bull, 1877, 238-243; of government commission failed, 243; by Marty to Sitting Bull, 1879, 280-282
Peace Policy, announced by Grant, 27; Texan newspaper scornfully used, 48; in 1871 Grant first used term, 59; expenses five times greater under Grant's, 161; continued after Grant left office, 169; criticized and defended in 1877, 243 f.; Brouillet insistent about maintaining principle of, 262 *n*; exclusive religious control enforced under, 276-284; almost collapsed in 1880, 294; sentiment of participants polled, 297 f.; officially terminated, 1882, 320-324; *see also* Indian policy
Peck, Fort, Marty got interpreters at, 241; permission denied Catholics for school at, 298 f
Pend d'Oreilles, Indian agent praised Catholic, 23
Penn, William, kind treatment of Indians, 7; Grant recalled friendship for Indians by, 27
Pennsylvania, William Penn and Indians, 7, 27; land grant to Senecas by assembly, 8; Archbishop Wood of Philadelphia, 154 *n*, 167; Philadelphia feminine auxiliary, 156, 167; Indian school at Carlisle, 287, 302

Peter, Mrs. Sarah, organized band of 21 in Cincinnati, 155; died in 1877, 186 *n*
Petit, Benjamin-Marie, described removal of Potawatomi, 16
Petitions, by Ottawas for missionaries in 1823, 11 f.; by Yankton chiefs for Catholic teachers, 23; by Sioux for Catholic priests, 25; of Chippewas for Catholic teachers, 96 f.; of Coeur d'Alènes for religious freedom, 99; by Seltis of Nez Percés against treatment, 113 *n*; of Osages prepared by themselves, 133; Delano accepted spurious, 134; of Red Cloud for Catholic teachers, 150; by Osages for Catholic teachers, 206 f.; for priests at new Sioux reservations, 247; Hammond suggested getting Sioux, 248 f.; by Sitting Bull for priests ignored, 250; by Spotted Tail for Catholic teachers, 271; by Ogalalas for McCarthy to remain, 279 f.
Pfaller, Frank X., missionary attending Chippewas, 131
Phillips, William A., criticized government's dealings with Indians, 60
Pierz, Francis, missionary work in Minnesota praised, 86 *n*; died in 1880, 296
Pine Ridge, name given to Red Cloud's reservation, 263; McGillycuddy succeeded Agent Irwin at, 271; Hayt expelled McCarthy from, 277-284; Episcopalians quit, 331; *see also* Red Cloud; *also* Ogalala
Piscataways, 7
Pius VII, Pope recommended Jesuits for Indian missions, 13
Pius IX, blessing petitioned from Pope, 160; $9,000 raised for, 166 *n*; created Ewing Knight of St. Gregory, 182
Plenary Council, *see* Third Plenary Council
Poe, Orlando M., admired Catholic missionary technique, 166
Poinsett, Joel R., Secretary of War, 1838, 16
Poland, John S., Captain at Fort Yates, 231
Politics, decided choice of Indian agents, 22; gained ascendency, 32; Delano made reservation for, 38; caused prohibition of treaties, 40; important factor throughout 1872, 63; Mesplié claimed influence in, 64; spirit of 1873, 92; determined appointment of agents, 126; in appointment of Chandler, 151; in pulpit charged, 152; Delano warned against complaints about, 170; might decide approval of agent, 243; determined acceptance of charges against Hayt, 290 f.; accounted for rumor about Ewing, 291; hampered Blanchets, 326
Pollock, William J., Episcopalian agent at Spotted Tail, 264 *n*; inspector praised Catholic school, 330
Pope, *see* Leo XIII, Paul III, Pius VII, Pius IX, Urban VIII
Post cards, appeal distributed by new penny, 127
Potawatomi, Mother Duchesne worked with, 13; removed from Indiana to Kansas, 16; Catholic missions successful among, 37; mostly Catholics in 1876, 174
Pratt, Richard H., at Carlisle Indian school, 302
Prefect apostolic, *see* Robot, Isidore
Presbyterians, contacted by Colyer, 35; Lapwai transferred from Catholics to, 37, 90; under Whitman to Oregon Territory, 55; Catholic claims denied by, 113; no action on Lapwai Indians' petition, 115 f.; agent denounced in congress, 207; misstatement by Lowrie, 289 f.; change of attitude by Lowrie, 298; memorial to President for religious liberty, 305 f.
Presentation Sisters, secured for new Sioux mission, 269; came to Dakota in 1880, 287
President, Indians called "Grandfather," "Great White Father," 23, 251 *n*; *see also* Washington, Monroe, J. Q. Adams, Jackson, W. H. Harrison, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur
Price, Hiram, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 324
Priests, Blanchet had nine, 141 *n*; seven for Indians under O'Connor, 170; Benedictines hoped for eastern, 248

Propaganda, Congregation of, *see* Congregation of Propaganda
Propagation of the Faith, Society for the, European donations came through, 130; *Les Missions Catholiques* weekly publication of, 174 *n*; founded in France, 1822, 189; plan failed for obtaining help of, 190; Brouillet wanted bureau's expenses underwritten by, 211; collected alms for needy, 212 *n*; Brouillet planned second entreaty to, 213; wanted in every parish, 338; legislated for at plenary council, 341 f.
Publicity, Indian mismanagement to be given, 102 *n*; given newspaper article by Ewing, 104; came from newspaper articles, 127; in newspapers for Brouillet's lecture, 156 *n*; *Annals* presented articles, letters, financial reports, 165; pastors notified of Sioux visiting capital, 168; bureau gave Benedictines, 237; Brouillet addressed three conventions, 299-301; moderately successful, 327 f.
Pueblo Indians, further advanced than other Indians, 39; had more continuous contact with Christianity, 39 *n*; rejected school not taught by priests, 121
Puget Sound, Archbishop Blanchet claimed Indians around, 44; Catholic education best around, 111 *n*
Purcell, John B., archbishop officiated at Ewing's marriage, 1870, 106; sent strong appeal to McCloskey, 106f.; pledged any assessment would be met, 107; financial reverses destroyed resources of, 124; disappointed at slowness of Catholic Union, 125; warned Ewing about neglecting private affairs, 127; asked to help Ewing's governorship bid, 153; received Thomas Ewing, Sr., into Church, 201

Q

Quakers, *see* Society of Friends
"Quaker Plan," applied to Peace Policy by McMaster, 120
Quickenborne, Charles F. Van, S.J., established Indian school at Florissant, 13

R

Randall, Fort, Sitting Bull imprisoned at, 317
Rations, government, too large for Sioux, 30; farm implements substituted for, 41; Marty charged with appropriating, 233; hunting better than, 242; day school complicated distribution of, 244; Catholic missionary not allowed, 251; requested for Congregationalist missionary, 289
Raymbault, Charles, Jesuit missionary, 1641, 5
Red Cloud, sought Catholic teachers for Sioux, 150; Catholics fail to gain agency of, 247-251; welcomed Marty, 251; sacrificed for sake of industrial school, 266; Marty stayed overnight with, 267; wanted McCarthy on reservation, 277-281; sacrificed to help Sitting Bull, 281; irate in 1882, 331; *see also* Ogalala; *also* Pine Ridge
"Red House," Episcopalian churches called, 251 *n*
Religious liberty, endangered by salary from government, 9 *n*; for Indian and missionary in 1871, 45; endangered for Indians in Far West, 59; for 90,000 Catholic Indians, 105; Monteith's intolerance scored in Portland paper, 113; for whites through preserving Indian, 126; government called tool of enemies of, 140; apparently infringed by Osuna's exclusion, 145-149; Catholics sole advocates of, 148; legislation not passed for, 260; Congressman Scales introduced legislation for, 271; incompatible with Hayt's stand, 275; Schurz declared Indians not ready for, 283; maintained in Catholic school, 287; Protestant protest heeded about, 288-290; inquiry about reversing rule concerning, 297 f.; Con-

gress could not limit, 301; expelling missionary sundered opposition to, 305; Schurz revoked ruling against, 306 f.; bureau's achievement in promoting, 331
Religious of the Sacred Heart, school for girls at St. Ferdinand, 13; children's missionary groups, 157
Removal of Indians, President Jackson inaugurated forceful, 14; secularization of missions worse than, 19; government report on Sioux, 249 *n*; debated by authorities, 320
Renville, Daniel, Congregationalist missionary wanted rations, 289; expulsion from Devil's Lake ordered, 305
Representation in Washington, need recognized by Blanchet, 61; layman at first not considered for, 62 f.; progress toward in 1872, 69; clergymen and laymen considered for, 71; Mesplié recommended Brouillet, 72; Deshon temporarily assumed, 73; early in 1873 Ewing became, 81; Ewing appointed by Bayley for, 84 f.; Delano formally notified of, 95; contributions of Brouillet and Ewing to, 326
Reservations, Grant's plan extended to all, 34; Reserve is synonym for, 37 *n*; shook Indian culture, 39; settlement necessitated use of, 41; Kirkwood advocated large, 320
Rhodes, James E., opposed granting religious liberty, 306
Rice, Fort, DeSmet visited in 1868, 225 *n*
Richard, Gabriel, S.S., Indian missionary in Michigan, 11 f.; summary of life, 11 *n*, as congressional delegate started federal aid, 12
Richards, William, quoted relative Indian Bureau, 304 f.
Riggs, Alfred L., asked rations for Congregationalist missionary, 288 f.; adverse answer from Trowbridge, 297 f.
Robot, Isidore, O.S.B., prefect apostolic for Indian Territory, 173; French army chaplain and Indian missionary, 174; helped financially by bureau, 177; apparently unwilling to share Osages, 178; critical of bureau's methods, 1876, 179; claimed only $75 came from bureau, 183; admitted receiving more money, 186; saddened at Gibbons' endorsement of bureau, 193 f.; unfamiliar with bureau's purpose, 197; charged bureau neglected Osages, 206; McMaster inspired by task of, 219; dissatisfied with *Annals*, 237
Rosati, Joseph Peter, C.M., first Bishop of St. Louis, 20; Flatheads requested priest of, 55
Rosebud, no educational program at, 331; *see also* Spotted Tail
Round Valley Reservation, Osuna expelled from this Methodist reservation, 145 *n*; O'Connell protests Osuna's expulsion from, 146; petition rejected for Catholic mission at, 149
Russell, Mrs. C. W., elected treasurer of Washington women's organization, 154 f.
Ryan, Patrick J., permission to Jesuits by Bishop, 229; approved Marty speaking in St. Louis, 268

S

Sacred Heart, Religious of the, *see* Religious of the Sacred Heart
St. Ann's Mission, opened by Malo in 1879, 286; school opened, 287; supported through private donations, 308
St. Augustine, Florida, first permanent settlement, 1565, 4; Bayley at, 85 *n*
St. Ferdinand, sisters opened girls' school at, 13
St. Ignatius Mission (Montana), teachers highly praised, 330
St. James' Mission (Washington Territory), established in 1838 by Catholics, 150

St. Joseph's Seminary (Troy, New York), regularly donated to Catholic bureau, 157
St. Louis, Clark Indian Superintendent in, 17; Flatheads to Rosati in, 20; health of DeSmet in, 71; proposal by Jesuit in, 84; Kenrick Archbishop of, 107; auxiliary organized in, 155 f.; outstanding auxiliary in, 167; rumor about Jesuit in, 176; lecture by Brouillet in, 177; trouble for auxiliary in, 179; Jesuits returned to, 225; Ryan Coadjutor Bishop of, 229
St. Meinrad, Marty chosen abbot at, 230; Brouillet thanked for remittance to, 242; Brouillet visited, 245; Mundwiler succeeded Marty as abbot, 314
St. Onge, Louis N., Indian missionary in Nesqually until 1872, 187; protested McMaster's delay in printing letter, 188; *Catholic Standard* refused article by, 202
St. Paul, Grace Bishop of, 86; Grey Nuns in, 223; Ireland Coadjutor Bishop of, 269
Salaries, paid by government to missionaries, 9; for missionaries injured religious liberty, 9 *n*; by Massachusetts to missionaries, 10; constant problem for Ewing, 122; prevented employing valuable man, 130 f.; from federal government to Grey Nuns, 223; good agents lacking because of poor, 232; $750 annually to teachers, 236; reduced for all agents, 256; of cooks $240 annually, 256 *n*; of teachers considered inadequate, 303 f.
"Salary grab," 92
Salpointe, John B., Vicar Apostolic of Arizona, 310 f.
Scales, Albert M., congressman from North Carolina, 271
Schoenmakers, John, S.J., thought War Department would be impartial, 120 f.; attended Osages since 1847, 132; declared Osages' money misused, 206 f.
School, for boys and girls in Missouri, 13; Tulalip had first contract, 25 f.; Montana getting new boarding, 100 *n*; operated more cheaply with religious teachers, 172; opened for Sioux on governmental promises, 209; Catholic bureau refused to operate day, 227 f.; estimated cost of Standing Rock, 228 *n*; boarding school superior to day, 244; Benedictines' only concern, 252; for girls at Standing Rock, 254; at Devil's Lake systematized, 255 f.; on Sioux reservation Catholics opened boarding, 263 f.; little progress made at day, 264 *n*; requisite for success with Indians, 267 *n*; Devil's Lake had successful, 302 f.; taught by sisters reported best, 330; rapid expansion of Catholic, 343; *see also* Education; *also* Industrial school; *also* Teachers
School farm, *see* Industrial school
Schurz, Carl, reformer-supporter of Hayes, 169; co-operated with Catholic agents in Dakota, 217; Secretary of the Interior, 239; called Agent Hughes to Washington, 253; promised seeing Hayes for Catholics, 264; promised to aid Catholic schools, 267; not anti-Catholic, 276 *n*; saw pressure exerted against religious liberty, 271; denied religious liberty to Indians, 282 f.; general Indian policy of, 288; initial endorsement of Hayt reversed, 291; placated dissatisfied delegates, 294; called freethinker by newspaperman, 304 f.; revoked ruling against religious liberty, 306 f.; changed opinion about removals, 320
Secretary of the Interior, —of War; *see* Interior, War, Secretary of
Seghers, Charles John, Bishop of Vancouver Island, 165; foresaw conflict in Marty's proposal, 311; spoke during plenary council, 340
Seidenbusch, Rupert, O.S.B., unable to supply priest for Dakota, 228; consulted by Brouillet regarding Devil's Lake, 246; disproved McLaughlin's salary reduction, 256; needed financial aid, 311

Senate, United States, published Spalding's account, 55 f.; tabled 1876 bill transferring Indian Office, 161, refused to confirm Mallet's nomination, 233
Senecas, granted land by Pennsylvania assembly, 8; Parker belonged to, 32
Shea, John Gilmary, on achievements of Spanish Indian missionaries, 4; humorous reference to Grant, 149; discussed federal Indian policy, 320
Sheridan, Fort, McCarthy camped near, 279
Sheridan, Philip H., inspected Northwest, 1877, 166 *n*; General hated priests, according to Stephan, 204 *n*; did not recommend Hughes, 233 *n*; would not release cattle feed, 262
Sherman, Thomas Ewing, S J, described 1877 inspection of Northwest, 166; studies to become Jesuit priest, 204 *n*; visited at Roehampton by Brouillet, 216; tribute to uncle Charles, 333; called Brouillet apostle, 336
Sherman, William T., assistance for DeSmet ordered by General, 23 f.; inspection of Texas frontier by, 48 f.; inspected Northwest in 1877, 166; Nez Percés almost massacred, 171; advocated force in settling Indian troubles, 173; called "Sitting Bull" by McMaster, 181; hated all priests, according to Stephan, 204; disappointment in son, 204 *n*; Indians called "Walk a heep," 238 *n*
Sherman, Mrs. William T. (Ellen Ewing), prominent in development of Catholic program, 63 f.; disclaimed any influence with Grant's administration, 64 *n*; Grant gave his horse to, 152 f.; enlisted by Brouillet for fund drive, 154; promoted St. Louis missionary association, 155; national collection for Pope by, 156 *n*; emphasized religious liberty in magazine articles, 166; ability praised by Loughran, 175; McMaster's barbs apparently aimed at, 185; accused of giving donation as bribe, 186; Washington missionary association's presidency offered to, 199; claimed McMaster's attacks scandalized all, 202; compiled disproof of McMaster's attacks, 219; secured episcopal permission for Jesuits, 229; invited Schurz to dinner, 288; helped finance bureau, 327; with brother Charles at death, 332
Shippen, Rush R., Unitarian dissatisfied with Peace Policy, 321 f.
Shoshone Indians, fruitless council of, 60
Simeoni, Giovanni Cardinal, petition for Ewing's knighthood to, 181 f.; Prefect of Congregation of Propaganda, 211 f.; bestowed formal approval on bureau, 1879, 215
Sims, John A., noted Catholic school's success at Colville, 111; agent disreputable term, 126; reported Protestant minister entered Catholic reservation, 147
Sioux, DeSmet's peace mission to, 24; wanted only "black gowns" as teachers, 209; dialects learned by McLaughlin, 223 f.; obstacles to christianization of, 226; marriage by barter and sale among, 226 *n*; disturbed by whites invading reserves, 227; Marty called apostle of, 230; 10,000 warriors following Sitting Bull, 231 *n*; difficult to count, 236; at Standing Rock feared Sitting Bull, 240; Hunt long engaged in evangelizing, 243 *n*; bodily health preceded spiritual advancement, 281; *see also* various reservations and chiefs under individual names
Sisters of Charity, taught in first contract school, 26; name applied to all sisters, 330 *n*
Sisters of Charity of Providence, praised Brouillet, 336
Sitting Bull, DeSmet demonstrated influence with, 24; asked for Catholic priests, 1868, 25; led Sioux against Custer, 230; on peace mission Marty visited, 238-243; welcomed Marty to Canadian camp, 241; refused to see U. S. peace commission, 243; remained in Canadian exile, 250; Marty made second trip to, 280-282; did not return in 1879, 282 *n*;

returned from exile, 316-318; bigamy prevented becoming Catholic, 318 *n*
Six Nations, made treaty in 1784, 8
Smith, Benjamin, agency physician at Standing Rock, 231 *n*
Smith, Edward P., Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 79; Chippewa agent promoted, 86; charged with Indian frauds, 86 *n*; permits Catholics to erect two churches, 111; warned Monteith against intolerance, 113; claimed administration would not hinder Catholics, 116; stopped Burchard acting against Osuna, 146; authorized Protestant minister to enter Colville, 147; permitted Catholic services, 290
Smith, John Q., remained Indian Commissioner under Hayes, 239
Society for the Propagation of the Faith, *see* Propagation of the Faith
Society of Friends, George Fox and William Penn, 7; requested to work with Indians, 27; requested better treatment for Indians, 32; divided into Orthodox and Liberal branches, 33; protested to Hayes against Senate's action, 169; protested administration of Peace Policy, 243; resigned from Indian program, 294; continued to work after resignation, 321
Society of Jesus, government wanted missions handled by, 13; DeSmet knew only missions of, 47 f.; Robot disliked Ewing first consulting, 178; *See also* Jesuits
Soldiers, Indians demoralized by example, 217; solicited by Marty for missionary association, 238; promised to help bureau's finances, 247; considered bad influence by Stephan, 313
Spalding, Henry H., Whitman feared derangement of, 55; thanked and later blamed Catholics, 56; protests at charges of, 57; driven from Nez Percé Reservation, 1847, 112
Spalding, Martin J., DeSmet approved by Archbishop, 47 *n*; first to approve Blanchet's proposal, 58; Catholic efforts halted by death of, 61
Spanish, early missionary efforts of, 3 f ; Indian ward of, 8; foreign threat passed with withdrawal of, 14; enduring Christianity taught by, 39 *n*
Spokane, reservation in Nesqually Diocese, 44
Spotted Tail, Catholics fail to gain agency of, 247-251; sacrificed for sake of industrial school, 266; sacrificed to help Sitting Bull, 281; *see also* Rosebud
Standing Rock, military gave Sioux bad example at, 217; missionaries and agent procured for, 224-238; origin of name, 225 *n*; Benedictines undertake work at, 228-237; after seven weeks Marty returned to, 242; industrial school planned for, 244-246; girls' school opened, 254; in 1878 eleven Benedictines at, 261; Stephan became agent at, 262 f.; $1,400 cost of first church at, 286 *n*; Foffa replaced Jerome, 1881, 314 f.; Sitting Bull returned to, 317; *see also* Grand River; *also* Yates, Fort
Stanwix, Fort, treaty in 1784, 8
Stephan, Joseph A., opinion about McMaster, 195; Indian agent at Standing Rock Reservation, 204; ex-chaplain candidate for agent, 252 f.; warned by Ewing about Hayt, 260 f.; had administrative ability, 261; took charge of Standing Rock, 262 f.; received $3,000 for industrial school, 265; had double responsibility as priest-agent, 266; used practical knowledge effectively, 270; operated agency efficiently, 296; regained health, 297; retired in 1881, 313; confirmed as Brouillet's successor, 339 f.
Strieby, M(ichael) E., lamented government policy, 300 *n*; dissatisfied with Peace Policy, 322
Sullivan, John, Susquehanna River expedition, 1779, 8
Sully, Alfred, Brigadier General, U. S. Army, 225

Sulpicians, *see* under names of members
Sun Dance, paganism of Sioux featured by, 225 f.
Supreme Court, *see* Courts
Susquehannas, attacks on Maryland Indians, 7

T

Taylor, Nathaniel G., Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 24; wanted liberty and Christianity, 31
Teachers, Yankton chiefs requested Catholic, 23; should be from nearest mission, 31; California petition for, 119 *n*; Brouillet to Montreal for, 129; Brouillet concerned about salaries for, 215; Forbes wanted sisters, 222; Ewing agreed to provide, 228; received $750 annually from government, 236; provided at Standing Rock, 244; boys' school required male, 246; needed by Marty, 254; promised for industrial school, 255; Ewing predicted Protestants could not supply, 258; Hayt contemptuous of request for Catholic, 260; in 1878 Standing Rock had enough, 261; at Montana mission praised, 330; *see also* Education; *also* Industrial school; *also* School
Tecumseh's Wigwam, Bayley, Brouillet, Boyle supposedly in, 184
Teller, Henry M., Secretary of the Interior, 1881, 322; Arthur recommended Catholic work to, 324
Third Plenary Council, adopted proposals of Brouillet and Marty, 312; Roman meeting prior to, 337-339; legislated for Catholic bureau, 340-342, collection as authorized by, 343
Thomas, Frank G., teacher discharged from Standing Rock, 255 *n*
Thomas, George H., Stephan's military training helped Union General, 253 *n*
Tilden, Samuel J., condemned as ally of "Romanists," 161 f.
Tipton, John, General aided Petit, 16
Tocqueville, Alexis de, critical of Indian removal, 15
Tomazin, Ignatius, priest near White Earth Reserve, 197 f.; summary of record, 197 *n*; McMaster used letter of, 201
Totten, Fort, 1874 Grey Nuns arrived at, 223; help promised by soldiers at, 247; *see also* Devil's Lake
Toynbee, Arnold J., on English colonists' treatment of Indians, 7
Treasury Department, Brouillet's booklet in report of, 56; notification of Brouillet's absence, 210 *n*; Malo insufficiently authorized for, 214 f.; delay in receiving drafts from, 264 f.
Treaties with Indians, Jesuits valuable for, 6; by Harrison with Kaskaskias in 1803, 10; force supplanted, 14; Marshall condemned Jackson's, 15; abolished in 1871, 39 f.; political agreement effected prohibition of, 40; inquiry about rights guaranteed Osages by, 132 *n*; Osages guaranteed Catholic teachers, 1865, 207; provided for resident missionaries, 234
Trollope, Frances, criticized American treatment of Indians, 15
Trowbridge, Rowland E., appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 291; received negative replies relative changing rule, 297 f.; clerk more powerful than, 304
Tuigg, John, Bishop of Pittsburgh, 205
Tulalip Reservation, first contract school, 25; Bishop Blanchet made no nomination for, 44; school highly successful, 83 *n*; Kemble praised school at, 111; boarding and day schools at, 329; Junger anxious sisters remain at, 330

U

Umatilla Reservation, reassigned from Methodists to Catholics, 37; Archbishop Blanchet asked for, 42; reassignment showed policy could be changed, 90; agent's power questioned, 100
Unitarians, no reason for Chippewa assignment, 90 *n*; Shippen dissatisfied with Peace Policy, 321 f.
Urban VIII, Pope admired Jogues, 6

V

Vandever, William, inspector sent to investigate Round Valley, 146; opposed to Catholic mission, 148
Van Gorp, Leopold, S.J., said to have recommended Ewing, 81; suggested friend for supervisor, 84
Van Quickenborne, Charles F., S.J., established Indian school at Florissant, 13
Vaughan, Herbert A., Bishop of Salford, England, 153
Vermeersch, G. Adolphe, S. J., missionary at Umatilla, 37; condemned day school system, 39
Vicar Apostolic, *see* Louis M. Fink, of Kansas; Louis Lootens, of Idaho Territory; Martin Marty, O.S.B., of Dakota; James O'Connor, of Nebraska; James M. O'Gorman, O.C.S.O., of Nebraska; John B. Salpointe, of Arizona; Rupert Seidenbusch, O.S.B., of Northern Minnesota
Vincennes, Brutè Bishop of, 16; Chatard bishop in 1878, 190 *n*, 245; Marty reported named bishop of, 245

W

Waggaman, Thomas E., secretary of Indian Fund control board, 176
Wahrheitsfreund, prominent Catholic journal in German language, 217
Waiilatpu, site of Whitman massacre, 55 f.
Walker, Francis A., Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 79
Walker, Robert C., intervened for Jesuit in Montana, 81
Walla Walla, river close to Waiilatpu, 55; priest replaced Brouillet at, 139
Ward, concept began in 1784, 8; Indian recognized as, 31; not excluded from evangelization, 39; O'Connor called Indian Church's spiritual, 208 f.; of government demoralized by aid, 236; Schurz no theorist regarding, 288
War Department, Henry Knox, first Secretary of, 8; Indian affairs to Interior Department, 1849, 14; Interior Department strife hurt Indian program, 31; McMaster advocated returning Indian service to, 120; Schoenmakers favored Indian Office under, 132; Chandler reversed opinion concerning, 151; Brouillet predicted transfer to, 160; House favored returning Indian Office to, 161; McMaster favored Indian Office in, 204 f.; O'Connor asked Gibbons to support, 205 *n*; defeat again for Bureau's transfer to, 271
War, Secretary of, *see* Belknap, Calhoun, Knox, Poinsett
Warm Springs Reservation, Archbishop Blanchet asked for, 42
Warner, Charles D., succeeded John Monteith at Lapwai Reservation, 207
Washington, George, regarded Indian Territory as conquered provinces, 8; anxious for civilization of Indians, 9; reply to John Carroll, 9; Carroll had written, 325

Washington Territory, 1870 population 5% of California, 123 *n*; only nine diocesan priests, 1875, 141 *n*; distance from capital handicapped Blanchet, 326
Weaving, taught to girls by Grey Nuns, 303
Webb, Luther E., Chippewa Agent in 1860's, 89
Weed, Thurlow, DeSmet praised by Republican, 24 *n*
Weekly Chronicle, suggested Quakers take agencies, 27; articles about treatment of Osages, 132 *n*
Welsh, William, Chairman, Board of Indian Commissioners, 26; resigned chairmanship, 30, 32, wanted control of Indian Office expenditures, 31 f.
Whipple, Henry B., bishop condemned Indian agents, 22; recommended following Canadian Indian method, 22 *n*; Peace Policy praised in 1875 by, 152, in 1877 Peace Policy supported by, 169
Whipple, S. G., invited Osuna to use his bed, 145 f.
White, Andrew, S.J., conversion of Piscataways and Patuxents, 7
White, Charles I., succeeded by Boyle at St Matthew's, 184 *n*; gave Brouillet home at rectory, 200
White Earth Reserve, Leopoldine Society aided, 130 *n*; Tomazin began working at, 197; assigned to Episcopalians, 198
Whitman, Marcus, at Waiilatpu Cayuse Indians killed, 55
Whitman massacre, source of anti-Catholicism found in, 54-57
Wiget, Bernardine F., S J., considered possible Washington agent, 62; credited with securing Fort Hall, 66; drafted by Blanchet, 71; power of attorney for, 72 f.
Wilbur, James H., Methodist minister at Yakima, 44; nominated for Yakima by Methodists, 114; attended 1881 board meeting, 306
Williams, George H., favored by Mesplié as Oregon senator, 63
Williams, John J., Brouillet to visit Archbishop, 154; favored missionary association, 160 *n*; authorized Boston collections by Marty, 268; proposal for national collection, 338
Wilson, John, Indian agent, 1849, 19
Winnebagoes, Bishop Gretin obtained aid for, 17
Wolff, George D., owner of *Catholic Standard,* 202
Wood, James F., gave bureau $200, 154 *n*; Archbishop of Philadelphia, 167
Woods, George L., Governor of Utah Territory, 66
Woodward, Mrs M. E., elected vice-president of Washington women's organization, 154 f
Work, intrusion by whites discouraged, 29 f.; for Indians Marty's program, 236; Sioux self-supporting by, 244; of various kinds taught Sioux, 246; would cover cost of industrial school, 254; with Indians made Benedictines successful, 270; of Indians irregular and misguided, 296 *n*

Y

Yakima Reservation, Catholic mission established at, 43; had 500 Catholics, 44; in 1847 Catholic missionaries at, 50; petition filed for church at, 83; permission for church under advisement, 91; permission obtained for church erection, 96; permission withdrawn for church, 112-116; illegal to erect church for, 131; Milroy named as agent, 322
Yankton, chiefs requested Catholic teachers, 23; Sioux entrusted to Malo, 269
Yates, Fort, in 1876 Marty at, 230; Ewing's help requested by commander at, 270; *see also* Standing Rock

Kansas City
Public Library

Presented to the Library by

Margaret O'Callaghan

4-41--2M--P

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

134 352

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY